THE

Occaſional Hiſtorian.

NUMBER IV.

AN

Hiſtorical ESSAY, &c.

IT is very proper to acquaint the Reader with the future Plan of this Deſign; which is to prove that the Crown of *England*, by immemorial Cuſtom, ought to devolve to the next in Blood; unleſs the Supream Power intervenes to divert that Lineal Succeſſion *.

* This is too deep for me to meddle with, as being much above my Genius and Underſtanding.

In oppoſition to this, Mr. *Craftſman* ſays, *Hereditary Right was a Fundamental Principle, on which King* James *affected to eſtabliſh his Authority.*

In Anſwer to this, I aſſert, King *James* affected this Hereditary Right no more than his Anceſtors perpetually affected the ſame, from *Maroboduus* to his time *. For Proof of this, I ſhall inſiſt upon Facts; and if Mr. *Craftſman*'s Eloquence, or his Sophiſtry can drive away Facts; I muſt confeſs his Republican Forces are too ſtrong for me to break.

THE Notion of changing the Succeſſion Legally in *England*, before *Henry* VIII's time, was a Topick of Speculation rather than Practice; becauſe as the Princes for the moſt part, were of the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, that Legal Power was never in Fact recurr'd to; and all the Breaches into the Line were open Rebellions, for want of a Legal Sanction, which none of them in Fact had; unleſs we except the Devolution of the Crown to *Henry* I. of which I

* *Maroboduus*. King of the *Marcomanni*, from whom King *James* I. Lineally deſcended, and of whom *Tiberius* ſaid in the Senate; *Non Philippum Athenienſibus, non Pyrrhum aut Antiochum populo Romano perinde metuendos fuiſſe: That* Philip *was not more formidable to the* Athenians, *nor* Pyrrhus *and* Antiochus *to the* Roman *People, than he was to them. See* Tacitus, Ann. Lib. 2. *No Perſon in* Europe *was ſo good an Hereditary Gentleman, and a King, as King* James I. *was, and his Succeſſors conſequently were after Him.*

ſhall

ſhall ſpeak of in its proper time and place. To begin with the SAXON KINGS. I ſhall inſiſt only upon the WEST SAXON Line; becauſe in them, all Titles center'd, or where extinguiſhed. *Cerdicus* eſtabliſh'd that Monarchy firſt in *England*; his Extraction was very Princely before he came into *England*; and that coming was in the Fifth Century, of which Age we have the remains of no other Family now in *Europe*. He had the ſame Extraction with *Hengiſt* † from *Woden*, who ſeems to have been a mighty King over that People, of the ſame Name with that Idol, they chiefly worſhipp'd as a GOD; from which we to this Day, retain the Name of *Wedneſday*. The *Saxon* Chronicle, the moſt valuable piece of Antiquity we have publiſh'd in *England*, recounts ‡ Eight Generations betwixt *Cerdicus* and *Woden*; for which if we allow 200 Years, as *Cerdicus* came over, *Anno* 495.

† *Bede* gives us fewer Generations betwixt *Hengiſt* and *Woden*; counting no more than *Wetgiſlus* and *Vecta*. See *Bede*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, Lib. 1. C. 15. Yet we muſt conſider, 49 Years were elapſed from *Hengiſt* to *Cerdicus*, and granting only longer Lives, it may conſiſt with probability, tho' for *Cerdicus*'s time, we cannot allow leſs than 200 Years, giving them but very common Lives.

‡ *Cerdicus vero fuit Eleſæ, Eliſa Eſlæ, Eſla Giwiſi, Giwiſus Wigi, Wigus, Freawini, Freawinus, Freothogari, Freothogarus, Brandi, Brandus Bældægi, Bældægus, Wodeni, Chronic, Saxonic*, Anno 495.

Woden flouriſh'd before *Diocleſian*, in the Third Century; ſuch Evidences of Antiquity no Family in *Europe*, can boaſt the like of at this Day.

The Line of *Cerdicus* endur'd but two Generations, before an Uſurpation broke in, which laſted ſeven Generations; and then *Ceadwalla*, the Right Heir recover'd his own: And the *Saxon* Chronicle ſays, that in the Year 685, *Ceadwalla* began to contend for the Kingdom, and then proceeds to ſhew his Pedigree, in a direct Line from *Cutha*, the Son of depoſed *Ceawlinus*. It's plain from hence the *Saxons* always affected the Hereditary Title, and that ſeven Generations cou'd not ſtrike it quite Dead. And the *Saxon* Chronicle affects likewiſe to ſhew his Pedigree from the unfortunate *Ceawlinus* *.

This

* Moreover to prove, that *Ceadwalla* entred upon the Kingdom in purſuance of his Hereditary Pretenſions, he return'd from Exile; the *Saxon* Chronicle ſays, *An.* 685, he began to contend for the Kingdom. *Bede*, Lib. 4. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* mentions his Wars during his Exile from his Native Country, and *William* of *Malmesbury*, that he was drove out by the Nobility. I ſuppoſe, by thoſe Nobility, who had comply'd with the Uſurpers before, and who were jealous of his Pretenſions. *William* of *Malmesbury*, contrary to all the *Saxon* Chronologiſts, confounds *Cutha*, or *Cuthwolphus* the Brother of *Ceawlinus*, with *Cutha* the Son of *Ceawlinus*. For Proof of this, I appeal to the *Old Saxon Chronicle*, which ſays, *Ceadwalla* was the Son of *Cenbyrtus*, *Cenbyrtus* of *Cada*, *Cada* of *Cutha*, and *Cutha* of *Ceawlinus*, &c. See *Chron. Saxon. An.* 685, 45, 30.

See

This reſtor'd Monarch, was baptiz'd into the Chriſtian Religion, and went to *Rome*, where he was buried in St. *Peter's* Church : To whom ſucceeded *Ina*; of whom the *Saxon* Chronicle affects to let us know, he deſcended from *Cuthwinus* Son of *Ceawlinus*. See the *Saxon* Chronicle, *An.* 687. *p.* 46, 28. *Edit. Gibſon.* They each deſcended from *Cutha* the Son of *Ceawlinus*, one from *Cada*, the other from *Cleowaldus*, who was the younger Son. Upon *Ina's* Death, *Æthelbeard* his Relation, is ſaid, to aſſume the Government, againſt whom *Oſwald Atheling* ſet up his Pretenſions, and as the *Saxon* Chronicle, never fails to drive the Pedigree of theſe Hereditary Pretenders up to *Ceawlinus*, he derives *Oſwald's* claim from *Cynibald*, another Son of *Cutha's*, who was in all probability elder than *Ina*; becauſe *Malmesbury* tells us, that, *Ina magis pro inſitivâ virtutis induſtriâ quam ſucceſſivæ ſobolis proſapia in principatu aſcitur. That he was rather taken into the Government upon the account of the Native induſtry of his Genius, than for any regard to his Lineal Deſcent.* From whence I conclude, he was one of the Knights of the *Induſtry*, as all Uſurpers are *. Further

See *William* of *Malmesbury*, Lib. I. C. 2. Yet he owns, before that, *Ceawlinus* had a Son named *Cutha* who dy'd before his Father's Exile.

* Dr *Smith* is miſtaken in his Note upon *Bede. Lib.* I. C. 15. he ſays, *Cuth* had three Sons, *Cedda* the Grandfather of *Cedwalla*, *Cuth* the Great Grandfather of *Ina*, and *Cynibaldus* the Grandfather of *Oſwald Chito*; whereas it appears by the Table, and by the *Saxon* Chro-

Further down to *Egbert*, the Chronicle is not ſo particular, and therefore we are more at a loſs to find out the Hereditary Line; becauſe he ſatisfies us with no more than telling us which in general were of the Line of *Cerdicus*; it ſays, *Cuthred*, of the ſame Line with *Cerdicus*, ſucceeded to *Æthelheard* and reign'd ſeventeen Years.

I obſerve, that in the ſpace of * 259 Years, we hear of no Elective Kings amongſt the *Weſt Saxons*; if the Succeſſion was broke in Fact it was recover'd in Right, and Fact both, and tho' the Sword had ſometimes ſo great a ſhare, the pretended Electors had none. But in the ſucceeding Reign. *Sigebert* was deprived by *Kenulph*, and all the *Saxon* Lords.

Concerning this Deprivation, I obſerve, that *Sigebert* not being ſo near in Blood, as *Kenulph*, accounts for this Deprivation. When People make Kings out of the common road, they may unmake them again, and this was *Sigebert*'s Caſe. *Malmesbury* tells us, Lib. I. C. 2. *Arripuit regnum Sigebertus*; *Sigebert* ſnatch'd the Crown; and tho' *Roger Hoveden* and *Henry Huntingdon*, ſay he ſucceeeded to the Kingdom,

Chronicle, that *Cuth* or *Cuthwinus* were the ſame Perſon, and the Son of *Ceawlinus*. The Chronicle ſays, *Ina* was the Son of *Cendred*, the Son of *Cleolwaldus*, the Brother of *Cynigelſus*, both the Sons of *Cuthwinus*, the Son of *Ceawlinus*.

* To the Year 755 when *Sigebert* was depos'd.

Malmesbury

Malmesbury's poſſitive affirmation, weighs more than their careleſs expreſſing themſelves; for why, inſtead of the common ſtile us'd for the reſt, as *ſucceſſit*, *accepit regnum*; does he ſay, *arripuit regnum Sigebertus?* unleſs there had been ſomething worſe than ordinary * in his Caſe, of aſcending the Throne.

If we examine likewiſe, the *Saxon* Chronicle; it ſays, that *Kenulph*, and the *Weſt Saxon* Nobility, for wrongs done to the whole Kingdom, deprived *Sigebert* his Relation. *See* 51,25. *Anno* 755. In the *Firſt* place, Why is *Kenulph* diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt of the Nobility, if he was not the Head of that Meeting, and the more Hereditary Pretender at leaſt. *Secondly*, He is ſaid to be deprived, for wrongs done to the Kingdom; (all in the ſpace of one Year.) I ſay, by theſe wrongs is meant, wrongs done to *Kenulph*'s Succeſſion, for many Acts of Violence he hardly had time to perform, neither probably was he ſo guilty in any other reſpects; for his Friends preſerv'd *Hampſhire* for him, againſt the united Force of *Kenulph*, and the remainder of that great Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*. If they protected him upon the account of the Hereditary Title, the more Loyal, and the more Honeſt they; if he had one. But if they protected him out of perſonal Eſteem, and for his

* *Sigebert*'s was an Uſurpation, upon an Uſurpation.

Virtues;

Virtues; it's very probable, his Uſurpation more than his Tyranny was the *iniquum factum regno, The wrong done to the Kingdom*; for which he was depriv'd. Let me add another Obſervation, to corroborate what I am now upon: *Sigebert* is here ſaid to be *Kenulph*'s Relation, from whence I conclude, *Sigebert* was in an Inferior Degree related to *Kenulph*. I appeal to the Civil Law, that *propinquus* always ſignifies the Proximity in Deſcent. The *Saxon* Word is *Majà*, which often ſignifies *Son* *; tho' I do not pretend here to ſay, it always is to be taken in ſo ſtrict a Senſe, and often it may ſignify Relations; yet this I may ſafely aſſert, That the *Saxon* Chronicle uſes this Word for a Relation in Deſcent, as *p.* 53. 1. *Æthelhard* the *Majá propinquus* of *Ina*, took upon him the Government of the *Weſt Saxons*; and in the

* See Dr. *Hick*'s *Theſaurus*.

In the *Saxon* Chronicle it is ſaid, *p.* 58. that when *Kyneard* had kill'd *Kenulph*, the Lords gather'd together under the Conduct of *Oſric* and *Wiverthus*, and beſieg'd *Kyneard* in the very Town where *Kenulph* was kill'd; he urg'd to divert them from their Revenge, and to procure the Kingdom, that he had their *Majùm* with him; they anſwer'd, That none of their *Majùm* cou'd be dearer to them than their Lord, and they commanded their *Majùm* to abandon *Kyneard*.

By *Majùm* is here meant Children or Nephews, and near Dependants in Blood, and ſuch as owe Filial Duty to the *Thanes*, and were Subject to their Commands.

ſame

ſame ſenſe *Sigebert* was the Relation of *Kenulph*, tho' he ſtept into the Throne before him. The Words are, *Kenulph* depriv'd *Sigebert*, his Relation, or *Magé*. If *Sigebert* had been the more Hereditary Monarch of that Family, it would have been more proper to have ſaid, he was depos'd by *Kenulph*, his Relation: But, according to the other Senſe, *Sigebert* is called *Kenulph*'s Relation. When Families are mention'd by way of Diſtinction, the Root gives Honour to the Branches, and not the Branches to the Root. It was no Honour to King *James* to ſay, he was related to his Nephew, the Prince of *Orange*; but it was a Mark of Diſtinction to ſay the Prince of *Orange* was *propinquus*, or *Magé*, to King *James*, who was his Uncle. I conclude from this Word *Magé*, or *propinquus*, here applied, we may ſafely infer, that *Kenulph*, as to Family, was ſuperior to *Sigebert*, and in the ſpace of one Year recover'd his Power from that unhappy Man. The conſtant Scope of this Part of the Chronicle is to ſhew, that the *Saxon* Kings were of the Line of *Cerdic*. If *Sigebert*, as I obſerv'd before, had been the more Hereditary Monarch from *Cerdic*, it would be very impertinent to tell us, he was of the Family of *Kenulph*; as tho' I ſhould ſay, King *Charles* was related to King *James*, who was of the Line of the *Stuarts*.

To return: *Sigebert* was a Relation to *Cuthred* the deceas'd King; of both him and *Kenulph* we may conclude, they deſcended in the Paternal Line from *Cerdic*: *Kyneard* the Brother of *Sigebert* as alſo *Kenulph*, ſays the Chronicle, p. 59, 4. were Paternally deſcended in a Right Line from *Cerdic*.

In ſhort, this noble Monument of Antiquity, ſo advantageouſly exhibited to us by the preſent Biſhop of *London*, ſeems to be wrote with no other Intention, than to ſhew the Hereditary Deſcent of our Kings. He keeps the Line of *Cerdic* always in view: he ſhews the uſurping Line, and the clear one, up to *Ceawlinus*; tho' in reality, he proceeds contrary to the Courſe of other Hiſtorians; being more copious at the Fountain-head, than in his more modern Courſe.

However, by conſulting other Hiſtorians, we are able to ſupply the Chaſms and Defects of the Chronicle, from *Ceadwalla*'s Death; before which, it is as clear as the Sun.

Ina, upon *Ceadwalla*'s Death at *Rome* ſtept into the Throne, before the Hereditary Heir *Oſwald Atheling*. This I ſhall prove from *William* of *Malmesbury*. *Eo* (Ceadwalla) *Romam eunte, regnum per Inam novatum, qui Cynegiſli ex fratre Cuthbaldo pronepos magis pro inſitivæ virtutis induſtria, quam ſucceſſivæ ſobolis proſapiâ in principatum aſcitur.* *He* (Ceadwalla) *going to* Rome, *the Kingdom was innovated upon by* Ina, *who was the great Nephew*

phew of Cinegilſus, *from his Brother* Cuthbald; *and was aſſum'd into the Kingdom, rather upon the account of his in-bred Acquirements, than his ſucceſſive Deſcent in Blood.* For this Reaſon, in my *Saxon* Scheme, I have put down this Family, as the youngeſt Branch we know of certainly, from *Cedda* the Grandſon of *Ceawlinus*. We find in the ſaid Chronicle, that *Oſwaldus Atheling*, had a fierce Battle with *Æthelheard* in the Year 728, and in 730 he dy'd. In his Pedigree from *Cynebald*, the other Brother of *Cedda*, I have plac'd him before *Ina*, next to *Ceadwalla*'s Line; and conclude, *Oſwald Atheling* ſuſtain'd the quarrel *William* of *Malmesbury* hints at, who has theſe Words: *Nam & ipſe Brithricus & Cæteri infra Inam, reges, licet natalium ſplendore gloriantes, quippe qui de Cerdico originem traherent) non parum tamen à linea regiæ ſtirpis exorbitaverant*; *For even* Brithricus, *and the reſt of the Kings after* Ina, *altho' they all might boaſt of the ſplendour of their Families, being every one deſcended from* Cerdic; *yet, they had not mov'd a little eccentrically from the Royal Line.* See *Will. Malmeſ.* Lib. I. C. 2.

I deſire the Reader to obſerve, he wrote his Hiſtory in *Henry* I's time, who prudently cemented his own craſy Title, by the Marriage of *Maltilda*, the Daughter of *Margaret*, Queen of *Scotland*; by which means the *Saxon* Line was reſtor'd. I do not in the leaſt Queſtion

but *Malmesbury* expreſſed himſelf thus with that view; and the whole Nation, let the Author of *Hereditary Right* ſay what he will, were as much rejoic'd at the Reſtoration of that Blood, as they were afterwards at the Union of the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*. The *Saxon* Chronicle ſpeaks of it in the following manner: The King took to Wife, *Maud*, the Daughter to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, and of *Margaret* that excellent Queen, related to King *Edward*, and deſcended from the right *Engliſh* Lineal Stock. *See* p. 108, 40. We ſee here he puts a great ſtreſs, not upon only Queen *Margaret*'s Relation to *Edward* that popular *Saxon* Uſurper, but her Deſcent from *Edmund*, that unfortunate King, whoſe Title was over-run by a Foreign Invaſion and Treachery at Home. We ſee here, the Chronicle diſtinguiſhes her Deſcent from *Edmund*, as a diſtinct advantage to her Character, from her Relation to *Edward*; and what cou'd this be, except the ſuperiority of Hereditary Right from *Edmund*.

To return to *William* of *Malmesbury*, he ſays, even *Brithricus* himſelf, and the other Kings after *Ina*, tho' they cou'd boaſt of their Deſcent from *Cerdic*; yet this Glory was ſullied and diminiſhed by their deviation from the ſtrait Line, and therefore he introduces *Egbert* as the laſt of the Royal Stock in oppoſition to this deviation.

Egbert

Egbert deſcended from *Ingildus*, a Brother of *Ina*'s. The Reader may, perhaps, ask how *Egbert* cou'd come by this Hereditary Title, when he deſcended from a younger Brother of *Ina*'s, whom I confeſs to have been an Uſurper?

I anſwer, that *Ralph Higden* in his *Poly-Chronicon*, *Ann.* 797. in relating the Pedigree of *Egbert*, tho' he deſcended from a Brother of *Ina*'s, he ſays, he was *ex ſtirpe Inæ*; from whence we may conclude, *Ina* was the elder Brother; yet when *Oſwald Atheling* was dead, who was of the elder Branch; and *Ina* dead, *Egbert* cou'd have no Pretenders before him, and therefore he was the Hereditary Root, from whom ſprang that ſucceſſive race of Kings for the ſpace of 217 Years; in which there was only one Deviation, *viz. Eadred*'s, which laſted no more than nine Years.

One difficulty remains, whereas all the Princes of the ſecond Uſurping Line, are ſaid by the Chronicle to have been of *Cerdicus*'s Line, from what Branch of *Cerdicus* ſhall we bring them down?

I anſwer, they might deſcend from *Cynegilſus*, the Brother of *Ceolwaldus* or *Cuthbaldus*, mentioned both in the Chronicle, and by *William* of *Malmesbury*. When *Cleolwaldus* and his Poſterity are mentioned, *Cynegilſus* is join'd with him as his Brother, as the Chronicle expreſſes; *Cleolwaldus* was the Brother of *Cynegilſus*, both Sons of *Cuthwinus*, the Son of *Ceawlinus*.

See

See p. 47, 9. As we find nothing more of *Cynegilſus* than his being Brother to *Cuthbald*, and is always brought in as a Twin, 'tis more than probable, he was diſtinguiſh'd as the Father of ſome remarkable Line of Kings, whom theſe mention'd only cou'd be.

Having thus ſet right this very difficult affair of the Line from *Iua* to *Egbert*, no Argument can be drawn from the meeting of the Nobility with *Kenulph* to juſtify the depoſing, or the Elective Power in that Aſſembly, who do not appear to be the Supream Power, upon the account of ſome particular Defects.

I ſhall now proceed to ſum up my Obſervations, upon the whole Scheme of the *Saxon* Succeſſion.

Cerdicus's Line endur'd without Interruption, only ſixty five Years, and the brave *Ceawlinus* who had ventur'd his Life for Glory, and brought the *Weſt Saxon* Monarchy to its greateſt height, was depos'd by a young Jack-a-napes, who was taken too ſoon from School, raw, unfleg'd, unwhip'd and uncorrected *.

* *Ina* is ſaid by *Bede*, Lib. V. C. 7. to have left the Kingdom, and to have commended it *juvenioribus*; that *Æthelheard* was the Uſurper, appears from *William* of *Malmesbury* before quoted. *Oſwald* I ſuppoſe thought a Partition-Treaty injurious to his Hereditary Title. If there was a deviation after *Ina*, *Clito*'s claim from *Cynibaldus* muſt be elder than *Æthelherd*'s from *Cynigilſus*, or there could be no deviation at all.

Ceolus

Ceolus was his Name; he was the Founder of the Firſt Line of Uſurpers, which laſted near 100 Years: Tho' even that Line was kept up in a great meaſure Hereditarily in its way. If we compare the Scheme in the Firſt Table with that in the Third, we ſhall find a * temporary Breach made by *Ceolwulphus*, and heal'd again by *Cynegilſus*; another by *Aeſcwinus*, heal'd by *Centwinus*; not to omit the Uſurpation of *Sexburga*, who, as ſhe govern'd her Husband when alive, govern'd the Kingdom after his Death.

Ceadwalla recover'd his Right by force of Arms; and we hear no more of any future Tranſactions of this uſurping Line.

His Pilgrimage to *Rome*, and dying there, gave † *Ina* an Opportunity to precipitate himſelf into a Throne not his own.

* *Bede* gives us a little more Hiſtory concerning *Cenwallus*, than we have in the Chronicle. He ſays, *Cenwallus* or *Coinalch*, was baniſh'd three Years, being driven out of the Kingdom by *Penda*, the King of *Mercia*. He was afterwards reſtor'd. He was expell'd by the Courſe of War, for divorcing his Wife, Siſter to *Penda*, and taking another. This Reaſon the Chronicle omits. See *Bede, Eccl. Hiſt. lib.* 3. *c.* 7. *Bede* likewiſe tells us in the preceding Chapter, That *Oſwald*, King of *Northumberland*, before he was kill'd by *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, had the ſupreme Dominion over the *Weſt Saxons*: To ſuch Weakneſs had this Uſurpation reduc'd them.

† *Ina*'s Father *Cendred* was alive when he took the Crown. See *Pref. to* Ina's *Laws*.

Ina's

Ina's Journey to *Rome* likewiſe open'd his Family to the ſame Turn: And thus the Uſurpers devour'd each other, like Pikes in a Pond, till *Egbert*, by his Succeſſion, brought Tranquillity to Hereditary Right, as I obſerv'd before, to the Conqueſt by the *Danes*, except the ſmall Interruption of Nine Years ‡.

This * *Egbert*, under the Uſurpation of *Bribtricus*, as being the laſt of the Royal Stock, and potent, by reaſon of theſe Pretenſions, was driven into *France*; and the Uſurper married the Daughter of *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, to ſtrengthen his Uſurpation. He was led to raiſe a new Alliance, and a new Family, to ruine the Prince he had injur'd; as it is too commonly done by Men of leſſer Stations in Human Life.

Surely the *Saxons* affected theſe Hereditary Pretenſions. The Chronicle is full of them. *William* of *Malmesbury* ſeems to rejoice, that *Egbert* was not hunted to Death.

Athelwulph, his Son, did not come in by Election. *Henry* † *Huntington* ſays, he was Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; but his Father *Egbert* being

‡ From the Year 800, to 1017; *i. e.* 217 Years.

* *Egbertum ſolum regiæ proſapiæ ſuperſtitem, quem validiſſimum ſuis utilitatibus metuebat objicem. Franciam fugandum curavit.* Will. Malmesbury, lib. 1. c. 2. Vitâ Brihtrici.

† *Hic primùm fuit Epiſcopus apud Winceſtre. Sed Egberto patre ſuo defuncto, neceſſitate cogente factus eſt Rex.* Hen. Hunting. lib. 5. p. 200. apud Adelw.

dead,

dead, *he was by neceſſity made King*, as Neceſſity and Choice, are as diſtinct as Light from Darkneſs, no Election could take place here ‡. **Henry Huntingdon* further ſays, that *Athelwulph*, left to his Son *Ædelbald*, the Hereditary Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*.

As here was a great affectation of Hereditary Right, I hope, Mr. *Craftſman*, will not charge Novelty upon King *James* I. he had the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, and Practice on his ſide.

It remains, that I ſay ſomething concerning the Authority of the *Saxon* Chronicle, ſo often quoted by me.

All our Hiſtorians, copy after this Chronicle, *William* of *Malmesbury* takes the Pedigree of *Ina* there-from †: Nor is there any Writer that gives any Genealogy beſides, diſtinct or independent thereof.

‡ This Neceſſity cou'd be only the Neceſſity of Birth and of Juſtice.

* *Ædelbaldo filio ſuo reliquit prædictus rex nobiliſſimus regnum Hæreditarium Weſt Saxonum*, ib. ap. Ædelbaldum.

† *William* of *Malmesbury*, mentions the *Chronicon*; *Sunt ſanè quædam vetuſtatis indicia, Chronico more & patrio Sermone per annos Domini ordinata, per hæc oblivionis ſenium eluctari meruerunt quæcunque poſt illum virum* (Bedam) *fluxerunt tempora*. Will. Malmesbury in Prologo.

'There are certain footſteps of Antiquity diſpos'd 'after a Chronicle-Method, in our own Native Lan-'guage; according to the Year of our Lord, which 'have ſnatch'd from Oblivion all thoſe times ſince. '(i. e. from *Bede*.)

The variety of Copies all agreeing in the main, are ſo many Proofs, that it was not the Figment of an Impoſtor, that it was an Authentick Monument preſerv'd in the Archives of ſeveral Monaſteries; and that 'twas chiefly copied from one Original publickly known and allowed, as was the Perſon who compil'd it; and it was made afterwards, upon Reviſing and Comparing, a laſting Hiſtory for the benefit of Poſterity. That of *Wheeloc*, was taken from two Manuſcripts, one in *Bennet*-College, *Cambridge*; and the other, in the *Cotton*-Library. This of *Gibſon*'s, is ſupplied from two Manuſcripts given to the *Bodleian*-Library, by Archbiſhop *Laud*; of which, one has manifeſt Marks of having belong'd to the Monaſtery of *Peterborough*; the other ſeems to be a Tranſcript of a freſher Date, tho' it has ſeveral Emendations not to be found in the reſt. This is the Account *Gibſon* gives, in his Preface concerning the various Manuſcripts of this Work; laſtly, from *Scoti-Chronicon*, he gives us ſuch an Account, by which we may form a true notion of the nature of this Chronicle, (ſays that Author.) 'It is agreed upon 'in *England*, (as I have heard,) that every 'Monaſtery founded by their Kings, ſhall have 'a certain Scribe, who ſhall carefully Note down 'all the remarkable things happening with them 'in that Reign, or with their Neighbours, according to their credibility as they appear: Theſe

'Scribes

'Scribes at the next general Meeting (*ad proxi-*
'*mum generale concilium*,) compare their perfor-
'mances together, and after a ſtrict Examination
'by the wiſeſt Men, they extract the Heads,
'and compoſe a Chronicle, which is kept with
'the Archives of the Monaſtery, as a ſtanding
'and authentick Chronicle, to eterniſe the Facts
'in each Reign, and preſerve them from the in-
'jury of Time.

This Account clears up the Authority of our Chronicle, and ſets it upon as clear a bottom as our publick Statutes; it is the united work of the moſt ingenious Men compos'd in the *Saxon* times, and continu'd till that Language was out of Date. A more noble piece of Hiſtorical Antiquity of thoſe times no Nation has.

* *Georgius Fabricius Chemnicenſis*, a very learned and a very great Man, has taken a great deal of pains to publiſh the *Saxon* Hiſtory, by the Command of the Elector of *Saxony*: This Work is deficient for want of the *Chronicon*, it being publiſh'd long before; and he was ſo ignorant of our *Engliſh* Affairs, that for the *Weſt Saxon* Line, he ſupplies us only with *Ceawlinus*, *Cynegilſus* and *Cenelmus* from

* *Cum autem obſcuritas tanta ſit in Anglicis, annalibus ut continua aliqua ſtirps elici, ex iis non poſſit.* Georgius Fabric. Orig. Saxon. *lib.* 1. *p.* 9.

Bede, and afterwards frames a Genealogy, beginning ſo low as *Egbert*, when the *Saxon* Line began to run as clear as a ſtrong Stream over the firmeſt Bed of Pebbles and Sand. So that all the dark Times from the Year 495, to the Year 800, are omitted in a great meaſure for want of this *Chronicon*; and thro' Ignorance thereof he ſays, *The obſcurity of our* Engliſh *Annals is ſuch, that no perfect Line of Extraction can be form'd there-from.* How much he was miſtaken, the Scheme above manifeſtly ſhews.

If the *Chronicon* is of ſo great Authority as to be the reſult of all the great Men in the *Saxon* times, what fair and what ample Teſtimony have we for Hereditary Right, continually ſtriving to recover its Seat, loſt by Violence? How carefully theſe Men kept their Eyes upon *Cerdic*, the firſt Founder of their Monarchy; and how diſtinctly they mark every Deviation from the Right Line, till *Egbert*, the great Conſolidator of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, clear'd the diſpute.

This *Chronicon* ends 1154; the Writers before, in no inſtance of moment diſagree there-from, and the following ones Copy after it.

Gibſon

Gibſon * likewiſe in his Preface, obſerves, That it follows all the Variations of the *Saxon* Language, according to the Time in which it was wrote. At the beginning *Edward* is wrote *Eadward*; in *Edward* the *Confeſſor*'s time, as we may ſee from the ancient Coins, *a* is expung'd, and ſo 'tis in this Chronicle: I obſerve moreover, that in the Year 1040 it is *Eadward*, and in the Year 1042, when he came to the Crown he is ſtil'd *Edward*, tho' but two Years after. The reaſon of this, I ſhall account for, in ſuch a manner as ſhall compleatly fortify the authority of the *Scoti-Chronicon* before-cited, and prove this Chronicle to be one of thoſe publick Regiſters, preſerv'd in the Monaſteries of Royal Foundation *.

In the Year 1042, *Hardicanute* dy'd; the wiſe Men wrote his Life; and mentioning *Eadward*, they wrote it after the ancient manner; but the Life of *Edward*, not being wrote till the deceaſe of that King, in 23 Years after, a new ſet of Men, in a great meaſure following the Variation, ſtile him immediately after his Acceſſion, *Edward*; and this only,

* See *Gibſon*'s Preface.

* We muſt obſerve, in the Year 1041 he is ſtil'd after the ancient way, *Eadward*, *i. e.* betwixt his Acceſſion and Coronation; till which time of his Coronation, the new Hands did not begin this Part of their Work; and therein follow'd the New Stile, aſſum'd by *Edward* upon his Coins.

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can account for the Variation of the ſame Perſon's Name in the ſpace of two Years. 'Tis true, the Variation is not in *Wheelock*'s Edition: However, it is in ours; which appears by evident Marks, to have belong'd to the Monaſtry of * *Peterborough*, and to have been an Original. Its Authority is, by this Variation beyond Contradiction: For it is not likely, the ſame Man, in one or two Years ſhould change his Spelling and Dialect. Therefore it was compos'd at the End of each Reign, as the *Scoti-Chronicon* obſerves, was the general Method us'd.

Having thus eſtabliſh'd the Authority of this Invaluable Piece of Antiquity, I ſhall next deſcend to treat of *Edward the Confeſſor*'s Title and Pretenſions.

The Author of *Hereditary Right* has induſtriouſly inſiſted upon his Title, only for the ſake of an *Hypotheſis*, rather than to eſtabliſh a Truth in the Minds of the People, for political Reaſons beſt known to himſelf; and which, I dare ſay, he will now willingly renounce. *Sublatâ causâ, tollitur effectus* †.

* This Monaſtery was founded by *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, and finiſh'd by *Wulpher*, his Son.

† The Lady is dead, for whoſe Reading the Book was calculated; and Strangers, in all probability, will not be affected thereby.

Edward

Edward the Confeſſor aſſum'd the Crown entirely upon the Bottom of the *Daniſh* Conqueſt. He was Half-Brother to *Hardicanute*, they having both the ſame Mother. The Author of *Hereditary Right* eſtabliſhes this Conqueſt firſt, as the Baſis of the new-erected Scheme; and he founds it upon the Agreement of *Edmond Ironſide* with *Canute*, to divide the Kingdom; and if the Agreement included a diſinheriting his Children, it was equivalent to a Teſtamentary Devolution. Of this latter Part there is great want of Proof; and there is even ſtrong Preſumption to the contrary. And if it was really ſo in fact, conſidering ſome Circumſtances, it may really be ſet aſide, for Reaſons of the ſame nature I have given in the laſt *Occaſional Hiſtorian*, in the Caſe of King *Charles*, when the *Scots* invaded *England*: For external or internal Force have the ſame Effects, as to evacuating Ceſſions, prejudicial to Right.

Moſt of the Hiſtorians mention no other Agreement, than that they ſhould divide the Kingdom betwixt them. But, ſays the * Author of *Hereditary Right*, from *Brompton* and *Higden*, *After the Death of* Edmund, Canute *asked his Nobility and Biſhops, if in this Social League any mention was made betwixt him and* Eadmund,

* He omits the preceding Words, *They anſwered falſly and flatteringly*, No.

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concerning the Succeſſion of the Brothers or Sons of Edmund *after the ſaid* Edmund's *Death, it was anſwer'd, No.* If not, there was no poſitive Agreement that the Survivor ſhould take all; and the Children had an undoubted Right to the Portion reſerv'd by the League, to the Father. *Edmund* had an Hereditary Right to the Whole, and was firſt Lord of that Whole. *Canute* could therefore claim no more from that League, than was poſitively conceded to him: If *Canute* had dy'd firſt, where would the Kingdom of *Mercia* have gone? To *Edmund*'s Poſterity, or to *Canute*'s? It was no more than a Partition-Treaty, and there was no Devolution by *Edmund Ironſide* of the whole, as I can find by any Hiſtorian, who wrote of thoſe Times.

As for the Teſtimony of his own Creatures, they weigh little with any conſidering and impartial Man.

Concerning *Canutus*'s entring upon the Kingdom *William* of * *Malmeſbury* ſays, *In the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord* 1017, Canutus *began to reign; he began that Reign unjuſtly, tho' he carried it on with great Humanity and Fortitude.*

* 'Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ milleſimo decimo ſeptimo Cnuto regnare cœpit, & viginti annis regnavit; injuſtè quidem regnum ingreſſus, ſed magnâ civilitate & fortitudine, vitam componens. *Will. Malmeſb. lib.* 2. *c.* 11.

More-

Moreover, *Canutus*'s own Words, who offer'd the Partition himſelf, ſhew, that the Children of each were to inherit: Says *William* of *Malmesbury* *, *As they both, not without reaſon, claim'd the Country their Father held before them, it would be more prudent, laying aſide Animoſities, to divide the Kingdom.* If by *Canutus*'s Confeſſion, they ought to divide the Kingdom they held ſeparately from their Father, the Children had the ſame Right to thoſe Pretenſions: *Quæ conveniunt alicui, tertio, conveniunt inter ſe.* And as *Canute*, under the Pretence that *Edmund Ironſide*'s Children were not mention'd, ſeis'd the whole; it was ſomething like the Fable of the Lion's dividing the Lamb; one Part was due to him for his Strength, another for his Nobility, and a third for his Will.

I look upon *William* of *Malmesbury*'s to be as valuable an Hiſtory as any we have extant, except the *Chronicon*. He lived in *Henry* the Firſt's time, when that excellent Monu-

* 'Verùm quia ambo non indebitè regnum 'eſflagitent, quod patres amborum tenuerint, conve'nire prudentiæ, ut depoſitis animoſitatibus, Angli'am partiantur. *Ib. c.* 10.

Malmesbury further adds, mentioning *Canutus*'s Acts of Piety, that he wiped off the Blot of his Injuſtice, with God, perhaps himſelf; but with Men, moſt certainly, *Injuſtitiæ nævum apud Deum forteſſis, apud homines certè abſterſit.* This *nævus injuſtitiæ* was his poſſeſſing the Throne, and the Wrong done to *Edmund*'s Children.

ment of Antiquity was drawing towards its Period. And as to the Hiſtory it ſelf, it is, in my Opinion, compos'd with that natural Simplicity and Honeſty, and ſo early after the Times concerning which I am now treating, I know none in *Latin* ſo valuable, excepting his Reflections upon *Edgar Atheling*.

* The Poſterity of *Edmund Ironſide*, whoſe Cauſe with ſo much Bowels of Compaſſion I now plead, were ſent by *Canute* (ſays *Will.* of ‘ *Malmesbury)* to the King of *Sweden* to be ‘ deſtroy'd ; but being, thro' Pity, by that King ‘ preſerv'd, they went to the King of *Hungary*, ‘ where they were hoſpitably entertain'd ; the ‘ Eldeſt dy'd, and the Other marry'd *Agatha*, ‘ the Siſter to the Queen.

As *Edmund Ironſide* was in the full Poſſeſſion of a mighty Army, and *Canute* offer'd him the Partition-Treaty firſt, as an Expedient to eaſe both their † Hereditary Pretenſions ; why ſhould we ſuppoſe, *Edmund* condeſcended to ſuch unequal Terms, to diſ-inherit his own Children?

* ‘ Filii ejus Edwinus & Edwardus miſſi ad regem ‘ Suevorum, ut perimerentur ; ſed miſeratione ejus ‘ conſervati, Hunorum regem petierunt, ubi dum ‘ benignè aliquo tempore habiti eſſent, major diem ‘ obiit, minor (Edwardus) reginæ ſororem Agatham ‘ in matrimonium accepit. *Will. Malmesbury, lib.* 2. *c.* 10.

From him came *Edgar Atheling*, the Hereditary Deſcendant of *Edmund Ironſide*.

† *Canute* pretended to inherit half the Kingdom, from *Swane*, who conquer'd it.

Nei-

Neither did the honeſt, ſtubborn Cavaliers think he did.

Edwin was ſupported by the honeſt *Weſt Saxons* as King; and *Edward* bore him Company, as being the next apparent Heir.

The Country-Gentlemen did not agree with *Canute*'s Creatures, his Lords, Pimps, and Biſhops. They look'd upon *Edmund* as their King, and ſtood up for him as long as they could.

To return; * *Henry Huntington* ſays, *Canute* paid the *Engliſh* home for their Wickedneſs; that is, he plaid the Tyrant with them, who had wickedly comply'd with that Uſurper's Acceſſion. He baniſh'd their Great Men, or brought 'em to violent Ends; even thoſe who had been moſt active in transferring the Kingdom to him.

† *Simeon Dunelmenſis* is more particular; and indeed, if any credit is to be given to him, he puts an end to this Diſpute; his Words are; 'Canute call'd all the Biſhops and Captains, 'Princes and Chief Peers of the *Engliſh* Na'tion together at *London*, who, when they

* 'Poſteà rex verò dignam retributionem, nequi'tiæ Anglis reddidit. *Hen. Huntingd. lib.* 6. He flouriſh'd *Anno* 1160.

† 'Rex Canutus omnes Epiſcopos, Duces, necnon '& Principes cunctoſque Optimates gentis Angliæ 'Lundoniæ congregari juſſit, qui cùm veniſſent ante

eum

came before him, as it were ignorantly, he ask'd them with Cunning enough, who were Witneſſes betwixt him and *Edmund*, when the Agreement of Friendſhip and Diviſion of the Kingdom was made, What Converſation he and *Edmund* had, concerning *Edmund*'s Brothers and Sons? Whether they were to reign over the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons* after their Father, if *Edmund* was to die before him? They told him, they certainly knew that King *Edmund* deſign'd his Brothers no Portion of the Kingdom, living or dying. As to the Sons, they knew that King *Edmund* deſign'd that *Canute* ſhould be their Protector and Guardian, till they were old enough to govern: But they, before God, gave in Falſe Evidence, and fraudulently ly'd, expecting his Clemency, and a Bribe for that Lie; and he rewarded them with the Loſs of their Lives afterwards for it.

eum, quaſi neſciens, interrogavit eos ſagaciſſimè, qui fuerunt teſtes inter eum, & Edmundum, quando Conventionem amicitiæ & diviſionem regni inter ſe fecerunt, qualiter ipſe & Edmundus de fratribus & filiis ejus inter ſe locuti fuiſſent, Utrum fratribus & filiis ejus liceret in regnum Occidentalium Saxonum, poſt patrem eorum regnare, ſi Edmundus ipſo vivente moreretur? At illi cœperunt dicere, ſe proculdubiò ſcire quod rex Eadmundus vellet Canutum Adjutorem & Protectorem eſſe filiorum ejus donec regnandi ætatem haberent. Uterum illi teſtes Deo falſum perhibuteſtimonium & fraudulenter mentiti ſunt æſtimantes illum ſibi & mitiorem eſſe propter mendacium eorum & ſe ab eo pretium ſumere magnum. *Sim. Dunelm. de Geſt. Ang.* 1016. He flouriſh'd in the 12. Cent.

This Account has more Probability, than *Brompton*'s and *Higden*'s; who ſay, that the Peers abſolutely deny'd any Mention of *Edmund Ironſide*'s Iſſue. * *Hoveden*'s Account ſoftens the Aſperity of this Tranſaction. It's very improbable, a Prince ſhould forget his Poſterity for the ſake of a Foreigner, whom he had ſo often fought in the Field, and for whom he could have no Motives of Eſteem; Therefore they recurr'd to this Expedient, to make *Canute* a Tutor and Guardian firſt, and a Devourer of the whole Royal Family at the End. Beſides, it is not probable any Hiſtorian ſhould frame a formal Lye, to put into the Mouths of all the Biſhops, as well as the Lay Lords in the Kingdom. ‡ *Hoveden* has ſtolen the ſame Account Word for Word from *Simeon Dunelmenſis*, who was an Author of eſtabliſh'd Reputation with all Learned Men, eſpecially with *Selden* and *Leland*.

Ethelr. Abbas relates it in the ſame manner *; ' He ask'd them, What was the Convention ' betwixt *Edmund* and himſelf! whom *Edmund* ' deſign'd to be his Heir! whom he appointed ' Tutor to his Children! and what he determin'd

‡ He flouriſh'd under *Hen.* 2. *Ric.* & *Joanne.*

* He flouriſh'd *Ann.* 1116.

' Quæritque ab eis, quæ fuerint inter ipſum & ' Edmundum in Regni diviſione Conventio! quem ' ſcilicet ſibi deſignaverit Rex Edmundus hæredem! ' quem filiis adhuc infantibus cuſtodem deputaverit;

'min'd to do with his Brothers *Alured* and 'Edward? But they, to pleaſe the King, 'prefer a Lye to Truth; and forgetful of 'Juſtice, and of Nature, they commenc'd 'wicked Evidences againſt the Innocents; and 'being Traytors to their own proper Blood, 'they ſaid, King *Edmund* deſign'd to him the 'Care of the Kingdom, and of the Children; 'whereas he deſign'd his Brothers to be Heirs 'and Guardians to his Children: Wherefore 'becauſe they flatter'd the King, and ly'd to 'him, a Sword enter'd their Hearts, and their 'Bow was broken, by that very *Canute*, whom 'they preferr'd, tho' a Foreigner, to their 'Natural Lord. When he had got the Go-'vernment of the Iſle by their means, he ex-'tirpated the Firſt in that Counſel, and baniſh'd 'or deſtroy'd all the Family.

The

'quid de fratribus ſuis Aluredo & Edwardo præce-'perit? At illi, ut Regi placerent, mendacium 'præferunt veritati, oblitique juſtitiæ, oblitique na-'turæ, inſurrexerunt in innocentes teſtes iniqui & 'mentita eſt iniquitas ſibi. Itaque proprii ſangui-'nis proditores, dicunt Regem Edmundum ſibi poti-'ùs curam regni, filiorumque ſuorum delegâſſe; cum 'ipſe fratres ſuos hæredes deſignaverit & eis puerilo-'rum cuſtodiam deputaverit. Quoniam igitur adu-'lantes Regi mentiti ſunt in caput ſuum, gladius e-'orum intravit in corda eorum; & à Cnutho, quem 'alienigenam naturalibus dominis prætulerunt con-'fractus eſt arcus eorum; cum enim Monarchiam 'inſulæ, faventibus illis obtinuiſſet, omnes qui pri-'mi in illo fuere conſilio, exterminavit, & quot-'quot de Regis ſemine ſuperſtites repperit, vel reg-

'no

The Reader may be a little ſtartled at one thing, *viz.* that our Author ſhould aſſert *Edmund* deſign'd to make his Brothers his Heirs. This muſt be underſtood, that he deſigned 'em proviſional Heirs, if his own Children ſhould die without Iſſue; or our Author went a little too far, out of regard to *Edward* the *Confeſſor*'s Memory.

The Author of *Hereditary Right*, as thinking *Brompton* more fit for his purpoſe, who ſays, 'They poſitively deny'd any mention concern-'ing the Succeſſion of *Edmund*'s Children, he leaves out the Words, which make againſt his Hypotheſis, and explain the whole *. He leaves out before *reſponderunt* theſe Words, *falſiſſimè & adulatoriè*, becauſe it entirely made againſt him. The Words are, 'They falſly 'and flatteringly anſwer'd, *No*, thinking by 'this to get ſome high Poſt in the King's Fa-'vour. They moreover took the Oaths to *Canute*, 'as King, and vow'd to expel the whole Fa-

'no reppulit vel occidit. *Abbas de Rivallis de Genealog. Reg. Angl. p.* 365. 366.

The ſame Account is exactly given by *Florentius Wigornienſis.*

* 'Qui adulatoriè & falſiſſimè, reſponderunt quod 'Non; æſtimantes per hoc magnum apud Regem 'locum tenere. Inſuper juraverunt quod ipſum 'Canutum pro Rege ſemper tenerent, & propin-'quos Edmundi omnes expellerent; unde juſto 'Dei judicio dignam nequitiæ retributionem poſt-'modum Anglis reddit. *Brompton, Chronicon, p.*907.

mily

'mily of *Edmund*; for which Wickedneſs they 'were fully repaid by the juſt Judgment of 'God". *Ralph Higden*, in his *Polychronicon* has the very Words. What this Author meant by putting this Quotation upon us, I cannot tell. The leaving out the Words FLATTERINGLY AND FALSLY make as different a Senſe, and as oppoſite, as Affirming and Denying. It was not worth his while to go theſe lengths for the ſake of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, when they are ſo obvious, and ſo eaſily found out: If he had caſt his Eye a little further into *Brompton*, he would have found another Quotation as full againſt him.

* 'King *Canute*, ſays our Author, ask'd 'his Conſort *Emma* †, what he ſhould do with 'the two Children of *Edmund Ironſide*, *viz.* 'Edmund *and* Edward? Who anſwer'd him 'thus, Sir, THEY ARE THE RIGHT HEIRS OF 'THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND; and by all the 'Tokens of Life and Health, they promiſe to 'cut us out in a ſhort time no little War.

* 'Præterea, Rex Canutus quadam vice Emmam 'Conſortem ſuam conſuluit, quid de duobus filiis 'Regis Edmundi Ironſide, Edmundo videlicet & 'Edwardo, foret melius faciendum? Quæ reſpon-'dens, dixit, Domine, *Recti ſunt Angliæ Hæredes*, qui 'vitâ & ſanitate comitibus, non minimam vobis 'guerram in brevi parabunt. *Brompt. ib. l.* 29.

† *Emma* had been *Ethelred*'s ſecond Wife, and was therefore Aunt-in-law to *Edmund*'s Children.

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This admirable Evidence is worth its Weight in Gold, and will do hereafter Service to *Edgar Atheling*, whom the Author of *Hereditary Right* affects to uſe very ill, tho' his Blood is the beſt that runs in the Royal Veins. Let me add another Teſtimony from *Thorn* *, that moſt accurate and diligent Hiſtorian; 'Canute 'the *Dane* ſucceeded to the Kingdom of *Eng-* 'land, not by Hereditary Succeſſion, but by 'Force of Arms'. Let me add the *Auguſtine Chronology*, which ranks all the *Daniſh* Line under the Title of *Subverters of the Kingdom of* England.

† *Henry Knighton* ſays, that when *Canute* ask'd the Nobility, what mention was made of *Edmund*'s Iſſue, 'They return'd a falſe and 'flattering Anſwer, and were therefore de-'ſtroy'd and rooted out, by the juſt Judgment 'of God.

Johannes Wallingford ſpeaks of this Convention with *Ironſide* more particularly than the reſt; and in contradiction to them, he is very powerful on the ſide of the Author of

* 'Rex Canutus, natione Danus, non ſucceſſione 'hæreditariâ, ſed armorum violentiâ in regnum An-'glorum ſucceſſit. *Thorn, Chron. An.* 1017.

Thorn's Character. See *Selden*'s *Pref.* to the *Decem Scriptores*, p. 46.

† 'At illi reſponderunt falſiſſimè & adulatoriè.' (See *Hen. Knighton de Eventibus Angliæ. l.* 1. *c* 3.) unde & juſtè Dei judicio, quidam eorum ſunt interfecti, 'quidam exterminati.

Hereditary Right; but where he got his Intelligence, I cannot tell: But, as he gives us a good Teſtimony for Hereditary Right, I ſhall put him down. He ſays, *By the Convention*, Edmund *was to have all he was poſſeſs'd of by Hereditary Right; and the firſt who dy'd, was to leave the Survivor Heir to the reſt* *. A very cruel and barbarous Agreement, if it was true. But, as *Wallingford* ſtands alone, I am oblig'd to ſuſpend my Aſſent thereto.

† However, our Author had no Opinion of the Validity of this Convention; he look'd upon *Canute* as an Uſurper; and as I cannot tell how he had loſt ſight of *Edmund*'s Children, he beſtows the Hereditary Right upon the two Brothers of *Edmund*, and ſays, they were by Right, Heirs of the Crown. This Monk ſeems to have ſome partial View towards *Edward the Confeſſor*: Tho' I muſt ſay, a great deal may be urg'd by way of Mitigation; but I cannot help him to the Hereditary Title.

* Eadmundus rex ea, quæ ex jure hæreditario ſibi protenerunt, & prior decedens, ſuæ partis ſuperſtitem Hæredem derelinquerit. *Johan. Walling. Chron. p.* 549. *de Edmundo Ironſide.*

† *Adhuc in primordiis Regni ſui venerunt legati à Normannia ex parte Eadwardi & Alfredi filiorum Æthelredi fratrum Edmundi Ironſide, cujus de jure erant hæredes.* ib.

* *Fordun,*

* *Fordun*, who wrote the *Scoti-Chronicon*, ſays, 'Canute was receiv'd as King, after he had 'expell'd the true Heirs.' He tell us moreover, 'That *Duncan*, Nephew to the King of 'Scotland, would not do Homage to *Canute* 'for *Cumberland*, tho' frequently ſummon'd 'thereto; becauſe that Homage did not belong 'to him by Right, but to the Kings of *Eng-* 'land.' At length it was agreed, that *Duncan* ſhould do Homage to *Canute*.

This is a noble Inſtance of the Honour of this *Scot*; he rather rais'd an Army, and ſtood the Hazard of encountring a monſtrous Uſurper, than violate his Conſcience. He had no Notion that Poſſeſſion gave a Right. He look'd upon *Edmund*'s eldeſt Son as his King. We ſee, this Diſtinction of Kings for the time being without Right was very ancient, and not unknown the *Scots*. We ſee likewiſe a Cotemporary with *Canute*, a Prince, who muſt know all the Tranſactions of thoſe Times, would not come into that Na-

* 'Ab omni ſtatim Anglia ſuſceptus eſt in regem, expulſis interim veris hæredibus. *Scoti-Chronic.* 40. *lib.* 4.

'Non enim hactenus, Anglorum Regi Cnutoni, quia 'regnum invaſerat pro Cumbria Duncanus quanquam 'iterùm & iterùm ab eo ſummonitus homagium 'fecerat, quia non ipſe ſibi de jure, ſed regibus 'Angligenis fidem deberi rex reſcripſit. *ib.*

Dum tamen ipſe futurorum regum Hæredes, qui pro tempore fuerint regi Cnutoni, cæteriſque ſuis ſucceſſoribus Anglorum regibus fidem conſuetam faciant. ib.

tional Lye, or at leaſt, would pay no regard to a Compact, (if there was any) obtain'd by Force *, to prejudice the Pretenſions of two innocent Babes.

I grant, ſome of our Writers are a little too partial to *Edward the Confeſſor*'s Title, paſſing over the Iſſue of a Brave Prince, ſent over the Hills, and far away to the Eaſt, expecting the Sun to riſe from that Place and light them home to their own Country: Yet the Patrons of *Edward*'s Title never found it upon *Canute*; but, on the contrary, upon his *Saxon* Deſcent. They aſſert, that Hereditary Title, when he was in Exile in *Normandy*. *Hollinſhed*, from a very antient Hiſtory, call'd *Encomium Emmæ* †; (of which he ſays, in his time there were very few Copies abroad.) Speaking of Queen *Emma*, he ſays, 'For the which 'no ſmall Praiſe was thought to be due unto the ſaid Queen, ſith by her politick Government, in making her Match ſo beneficial to her ſelf and her Line, the Crown 'was thus recover'd out of the Hands of the 'Danes, and reſtor'd again in time to the right 'Heir.

* Till the Inequality of Forces obliged him thereto.

† *Hollinſhed*, B. 7. c. 11. See *Encomium Emmæ apud Du Cheſne*'s Edit. of the *Norman* Writers.

This

This Gentleman had forgot, ſhe ſent away the more right Heirs, as I ſaid before, to ſee Sun riſe.

Honeſt *Stow* adher'd to the baniſh'd Line in *Hungary*. He gives a very ſenſible and rational Account of this Affair in the following manner.

* 'Canute the *Dane*, taking an occaſion, be-
'cauſe in the Covenant that was concluded
'concerning the dividing of the Realm, no
'Aſſurance was made for the Children of *Ed-*
'*mund*, he challeng'd all *England* to himſelf a-
'lone, by the Law, as they call it, *of growing to*;
'which was a moſt eaſie thing for him to do;
'becauſe there was no Man that durſt erect
'himſelf as Patron to defend the Childrens
'Right and Title; and by this ſubtle and
'crafty Interpretation of the Covenant, the
'*Dane* got the Monarchie of *England*, and
'ſent the Brother of *Edmund*, and convey'd
'the Children, far away out of *England*, leſt
'they ſhould at any time be brought again to
'receive their Right.

I have been very copious in this Affair, and may ſeem to have lighted a Candle to the Sun, as not one Engliſh Hiſtorian ſupports the Right of *Canutus* the *Dane*; yet in clearing this matter, I had a double View: Firſt, not only to demoliſh all Pretenſions of the u-

* *Stow's* Annals, p. 1018.

ſurping

ſurping *Dane* to *England*; and 2*dly*, to ſhew by this one Inſtance, the whole Series of our Engliſh Hiſtorians affected Hereditary Right; and that King *James* the Firſt did not introduce novel Pretenſions upon us, as he lineally deſcended from one of King * *Edmund*'s Sons.

I conclude, if King *Canute* was an Uſurper, *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, by the Author of *Hereditary Right*'s own Confeſſion, could derive no Title from him.

Let us next examine, from whence his Title could come. Why, ſays † that Author, *The Iſſue of* Edmund Ironſide *were at a great diſtance, their Condition and Circumſtances utterly unknown. Beſides, it was hardly poſſible, to give them notice of the Vacancy of the Throne, or receive their Anſwer in any reaſonable time.*

Therefore, concludes he, conſidering the neceſſity of Affairs, *Edward* might juſtly take upon him the Poſſeſſion of the Throne.

From this Neceſſity, or, in other Words, Utility, he advances *Edward* into a Lawful and Hereditary Prince; juſtly filling the Throne in as compleat a manner, as his Nephews could, if they had been at home.

* Edward.

† *Hereditary Right*, p. 26.

And

And being thus eſtabliſh'd, he could diſpoſe of the Crown by Will, exclude the Nephews, and advance a *Norman* to the Engliſh Throne.

Great are the Powers of Neceſſity, I muſt confeſs; that it has no Law, I have heard; and upon that Proverb only we can build *Edward*'s Title. But to ſay, that Neceſſity can give Law, is to me a new Opinion, contriv'd for the Eaſe of dignify'd Men in their Stalls.

The Abſence of the Right Heir brought a Neceſſity upon the Kingdom to accept *Edward*, and this Objection remain'd a Bar to the Right Heir, when he was upon the ſpot, and the Neceſſity was taken away, ſays he. This Argument is a little deficient in point of Logick, and indeed, of common Senſe. The Premiſes are the Foundation to ſupport a Concluſion. But to raiſe Premiſes to form a Concluſion from; to take the Premiſes away, and to leave the Concluſion ſtanding, is a Method often recurr'd to in Revolutions; but it will never agree with the common Elements of Reaſon.

That King *Edward* might fill a Throne, not his own, without being an Uſurper, I readily grant; becauſe he might act as a *Saxon Subregulus*, or little King, under the Shade of his Nephew's Title, as his ſecret Lieutenant; but this Subordination can never, againſt Right, grow into a complete ſupreme Power, and diſannul the Firſt.

Edward

Edward might think it too expenſive to ſend to *Hungary* for the Right Heir; and to ſave Charges, he ſtept in himſelf. It was an ill-tim'd Frugality: Right Heirs can never be bought too dear, nor Uſurpers ſold too cheap. This Frugality coſt *England* her Liberty, and brought the *Norman* Invaſion upon us.

Our Author ſays himſelf, *He that invades another's Right, with intention to detain it from him, and a Reſolution never to reſtore it to the true Proprietor, is certainly guilty of the higheſt injuſtice.* And yet by a ſtrange Contradiction he juſtifies the entire Excluſion of *Edward* and his Iſſue.

It is certainly very dangerous for Princes to travel: But when they are forc'd abroad, as *Edward* and his Brother *Edmund* were, it was very hard to make that amount to a full Legiſlative Excluſion, being ſent away in their Minority by a Tyrant, and an Enemy to their whole Race.

Says our Author, * *The Authors, who have tranſmitted to us an Account of* Edward's *Reign ſay nothing upon this Subject, either that the Deſcendents of* Edmund Ironſide *laid claim to the Crown, or that King* Edward *diſcover'd any inclinations to do them juſtice.* As he held the

* The univerſal Cry of all *Engliſh* Hiſtorians in his behalf, as the injur'd Heir, was a ſufficient Atteſtation of his Claim; and to deny that K. *Edward* diſcover'd any Inclinations to do him Juſtice, I have, and ſhall more fully prove to be falſe in Fact.

Crown

Crown only by virtue of the Neceſſity of the Times, and the Misfortune of his Nephew's being out of the Kingdom; And he never deſign'd to do them Juſtice, tho' his neareſt Relations; He was certainly as great a Brute as King *John*. However, he afterwards confeſſes, King *Edward* did ſend for *Edward*, who dy'd immediately after his Arrival in *England*.

A new Neceſſity upon this occurs. *Edward*'s Children were too young to accept a Kingdom in ſuch tickliſh Circumſtances, as it was at that time: Therefore the Crown was to devolve to a *Norman*, who was more able, and more powerful to keep out Earl *Goodwin*'s Children, than the poor Hereditary Minors.

If Hereditary Right muſt give way to Spite, to Prejudice, and to the Humour of a Perſon who had no Right himſelf; I have little more to ſay. If an Uſurper, born in *England* was not preferable to an Uſurper born abroad, it ſhews our Taſtes were then too Foreign.

However, nothing yet ſaid, could touch *Edward*'s Hereditary Right: His Son was young; and ſome of our Hiſtorians affect to call him a Fool; yet his Folly was not ſo great, as to take away his natural Rights. Says our Author, after the Death of the Confeſſor, he forbore to challenge the Crown as his Right, or elſe made an abſolute Surrender of it. In anſwer to this, let us exa-

mine the *Scoti-Chronicon* of **John Fordun.* ‘ King ‘ *Edwardus* advancing in Years, having no ‘ Children himſelf, ſeeing the Family of *Good-* ‘ *win* increaſe in Power, he ſent to the King ‘ of *Hungary*, and, as *Turgotus* ſays, to the Em- ‘ peror, that he would ſend the Son of his ‘ Brother *Edmund Ironſide*, with all his Fami- ‘ ly, that either he or his Sons might ſucceed ‘ by their Hereditary Right, to the Kingdom ‘ of *England.*

‘ † After, ſays he, this *Edward* came to *Lon-* ‘ *don*, he d.y'd, leaving one Son, *Eadgar*, with ‘ his two Siſters, whom, as being next to the ‘ Kingdom, the King recommended him to ‘ the Peers.

* ‘ Rex Edwardus pronus in ſenium, eò quòd ‘ ipſe non ſuſceperat liberos, & Godwini viderat ‘ invaleſcere filios, miſit ad Regem Hunnorum, ſed ‘ Turgotus dicit, ad Imperatorem, ut filium ſui ‘ fratris Edmundi Ironſide, Edwardum, cum omni ‘ familiâ ſuâ, mitteret futurum, ut aut ille, aut filii ‘ ſui ſuccedant hæreditario jure regno Angliæ. *Ford. Chronic. l.* 5. *c.* 11.

The ſame ſays *William* of *Malmesbury.*

† ‘ Eadgaro filio ſuperſtite cum ſororibus præno- ‘ nominatis, quem pro genere regno proximum, rex ‘ proceribus commendavit. *ib.*

Afterwards the Nobility would have choſen, or did chuſe *Eadgar* for their King; and he was elected: But the Biſhops would not comply. *Epiſcopos non habebant aſſertores.* See *Fordun, ut ſuprà.*

N. B. The Word *Elected* does not here mean Elected by Vote, to make a Title; but *Recogniz'd*, as I ſhall prove.

N.B. All this taken from *Fordun* was taken by him from *Turgotus*, who liv'd in *Edward the Confeſſor's* time, and afterwards.

If

If he was overlook'd, the more piteous was his Caſe. However, this contradicts the Donation to *Harold*, and proves that *Eadgar* had even the Teſtamentary Right, as well as the more noble one of Blood. He adds, that after *Harold*'s Death, when the Conqueror was marching with a victorious Army to *London*, the Nobility would have adher'd to *Eadgar*; but the Biſhops would not come in.

His Reflections upon the Conduct of the Clergy on theſe Occaſions is ſo full for Heredirary Right, ſo weighty, and ſo ſtrong, I muſt give 'em in all that Beauty and Strength to the Reader.

* 'In this, ſays he, I think they offended 'both againſt God and the People; againſt 'God, becauſe they ought not to reject one, 'whom God had preferr'd to reign, deriv'd 'from the Blood of ſo many Kings, in the juſt 'Line of Generation; nor to deprive an inno-'cent Man, with the Addition of ſharp Re-'proaches, and envenom'd Tongues unjuſtly, 'of his juſt Patrimony; becauſe his Royal State 'whether youthful, or more mature in Years, and

* 'Verùm in hoc eos erraſſe mihi videtur, & apud 'Deum, & apud Populum; apud Deum, qui quam 'ipſe genitura tantorum Regum progenitorum juſta 'generationis procreatum lineâ, regnandum prætu-'lit, eis reſpuere non licuit, nec inſontem, linguis, 'omni gladio præacutis, injuſtè juſto privare PATRI-'MONIO, ſcientes quod ætas regia vel puerilis, 'vel

'even Simpleneſs it ſelf were not inconſiſtent 'with the Fidelity and Obedience of his Sub-'jects'. 'As to the People, they brought on 'eternal Scandal and Confuſion upon the 'Natives of that Kingdom, by a Reproach 'never to be wiped out: They had, againſt 'all Juſtice, following their own Hearts, pre-'ferr'd *Harold*, void of all Right, to go-'vern †'.

This is really a very pathetical Remonſtrance in behalf of *Edgar Atheling*; and if *Edgar* was ſuch a Fool, as the Author of *Hereditary Right* makes him, it is an Argument ſtill more ſtrong

'vel ſenilis, vel etiam ſimplicitas in fidelitate con-'ſtat, & regni & ſubditorum. *Ford. Hiſt. l.* 5. *c.* 11.

'Apud populum verò cùm in ſuam propriam con-'fuſionem atque regni cunctorum indigenarum 'ſempiternum opprobrium & ſcandalum, non ſe-'cundum judicium legis, ſed cordis affectum lo-'quentes, ſupra ſe virum erigunt omnis regnandi 'juris expertim Haraldum. *ib.*

† *Patrocinium*, inſtead of *Patrimonium*, is in the old imperfect Edition of Dr. *Gale*'s, and in the Mſſ. which *Hearne* uſes: Tho' the Emendation has Senſe and Connexion on its ſide. And *Hearne* tells us in the Margin, that in the *Harleian* Manuſcript it is *Patrimonio*. Let me add, That in the *Cotton*-Library the Word is plainly wrote in this manner, *p̄ionio*; as I can atteſt, who have ſeen it with my own Eyes, and took this Quotation therefrom, not long before the dreadful Conflagration; and I ſhew'd the Word to the Under Library-keeper, who can atteſt the ſame.

on

on our ſide. However, he aſcribes this Report to Men, whoſe Tongues cut like a ſharp Razor, to do miſchief, all true *Doegites* to the bottom.

We ſee here the Misfortune of *Edward*'s being ſent away, is driven hard by the Author to to vacate his Return; and the Folly of *Edgar* was to attaint the whole Family, tho' his Siſter *Margaret* was a renown'd and celebrated Queen, and brought no Fools into the world.

Fordun proceeds to tell us, *Their malicious Tongues brought upon them the Curſe of Baniſhment and Extermination:* For *William*, it ſeems, expell'd that lying Set of Nobility, whoſe Race had ly'd to *Canute*, and had wrong'd *Eadgar*.

* 'Therefore, ſays he, the Lord reſolving 'that holy Line ſhould reign, and poſſeſs the 'Earth, which he had ſuſtain'd, and they de-'ſerted, happily engrafted it with the *Scotch* 'Race; and by his Providence for the 'future, ſitting on the Royal Throne, may 'Kings iſſue out, and ſhall iſſue forth during 'his Pleaſure. *Amen.*

* 'Igitur ipſe Dominus illam ſanctam regalem li-'neam ſe ſuſtinentem ab eis; ſed non ab eo deſertam 'tam hæreditare terram ſimul & regnare volens fe-'lici *Scotis* omine cum ſua regali linea gratis conjun-'xit, ex quibus, eo providente, deinceps & hactenus 'reges ſedentes in ſolio pullulant reges, & uſque 'quo ſibi placuerit, pullulabunt. *ib.*

Mareo-

Moreover, the 16th Chapter of the *Scoti-Chronicon* gives us ſo pathetical, ſo lively and ſo compaſſionate an Account of *Eadgar Atheling*'s Arrival in *Scotland*, I ſhould be wanting to the Reader, or to the Honour of the *Scotch* Nation, to defraud him of it. The Chapter is ſo like the Shipwreck of *Æneas*, I almoſt thought the Author borrow'd ſome Thoughts from *Virgil*. He takes his Narration from *Turgottus*, an * Author much more ancient than him †, tho' he liv'd at the time of the Depoſition of *Richard* the Second. 'Ed-'gar *Atheling* perceiving the Engliſh Affairs 'too turbid, went on board a Ship, with his 'Mother and Siſters, to return to that Coun-'try in which he was born: But he who 'commands the Winds and Seas, ſtirr'd up

* Sub Edwardo noſtro tertio aut Richardo ſecundo non quidem ambigendum eſt. *Seld. Pref. de Script. Anglic.*

† *Fordun* was born in the Year 1387. *See* Hern's *Pref. to* Fordun.

Arma virumque cano Trojæ qui primus ab oris,
Italiam fato profugus Lavinaque venit
Litora. Virgil.

Arms, and the Man I ſing, who forc'd by Fate,
And haughty *Juno*'s unrelenting Hate,
Expell'd and exil'd, left the *Trojan* Shoar.
Dryden's *Tranſlat.*

'the

'the Sea *, and the Waves thereof †, the Tem-
'peſt encreaſing, and all in the utmoſt De-
'ſpair of Life, they commend themſelves to
'God, and the Ship to the Sea. Therefore
'after many great Dangers and Labours, the
'Lord had Compaſſion on that deſolate Fa-
'mily: For where Human Help is wanting,
'Heaven is always ready; after being ſha-

* —— *Cavum converſa cuſpide montem*
Impulit in latus, ac venti velut agmine facto.
Qua data porta ruunt, & terras turbine perflant,
Incubuere mari, totamque à ſedibus imis,
Una Eurus Notuſque ruunt creberque procellis
Africus; & vaſtos volvunt ad litora fluctus.
Virgil.

He ſaid; and hurl'd againſt the Mountain-Side,
His quiv'ring Spear, and all the God apply'd.
The raging Winds ruſh thro' the hollow Wound,
And dance aloft in Air, and skim the hollow Ground.
Then ſetling on the Sea, the Surges ſweep,
Raiſe liquid Mountains, and diſcloſe the Deep.
South, Eaſt and Weſt with mixt Confuſion roar,
And rowl the foamjng Billows to the Shoar.
Dryden's Tranſlat.

† *Præſentemque viris intentant omnia mortem,*
Extemplo Æneæ volvuntur frigore membra.
Ingemit, duplices tendens ad ſydera palmas.
Virg.

The Sea of Things a frightful Image bears,
And preſent Death in various Forms appears.
Struck with unuſual Fright, the *Trojan* Chief
With liſted Hands and Eyes, invokes Relief.
Dryden.

'ken

‘ ken by many Dangers of the Sea, they were
‘ forc'd upon the *Scotch* Shore ||. The holy
‘ Family came to a Bay, called ſince by the
‘ Inhabitants, *St. Margaret's Bay.* Neither
‘ did this happen, but by the particu-
‘ lar Providence of God *, the Family re-
‘ maining in the ſaid Bay, expecting with
‘ Pain the Iſſue of their Fate ‡; their com-

|| *Stagna refuſa vadis ſenſit Neptunus ab imis,*
Proſpiciens ſummâ, placidum caput extulit undâ.
Virgil.

Mean time imperial *Neptune* heard the Sound
Of raging Billows breaking on the Ground;
Diſpleas'd, and fearing for his wa'try Reign,
He rear'd his awful Head above the Main.
Dryden.

* *Defeſſi Æneadæ, quæ proxima litora curſu*
Contendunt petere & Libyæ vertuntur ad oras.
Eſt in ſeceſſu longo locus, inſula portum.
Efficit, objectu laterum —— Virgil.

The weary *Trojans* ply their ſhatter'd Oars,
Stood neareſt Land, and make the *Libyan* Shores.
Within a long Receſs there lies a Bay,
An Iſland ſhades it from the rowling Sea;
And forms a Port, ſecure for Ships to ride,
Broke by the Jutting Land on either ſide.
Dryden.

‡ — — — — *Curiſque ingentibus æger.*
Spem vultu ſimulat premit altum corde dolorem.
Virgil.

Theſe Words he ſpake; but ſpoke not from his Heart:
His outward Smiles conceal'd his inward Smart.
Dryden.

‘ ing

'ing was told to King *Malcolm*, who from 'an Height not far off, ſeeing them, ſent 'Meſſengers to be inform'd how the Matter 'was. They viewing a Ship of unuſual bigneſs 'lie there, made haſte, to tell the King 'what they had ſeen: Upon which, the 'King ſent ſome of his wiſeſt Nobles, and 'greateſt Men towards them. They being 'receiv'd, as became the Characters of Meſ-'ſengers from a Sovereign Prince, and ta-'ken with the Stoutneſs of the Men, the 'Beauty of the Women, and the Oeconomy 'of the whole Family, began to converſe with 'Freedom and Eaſe, enquiring into every 'ſtep of that ſtrange Event; * they, as 'Strangers and Gueſts, plainly open'd the 'whole Caſe in a ſimple, eloquent and mo-'deſt manner. When the Meſſengers came 'back, and had given the King an Account

* *O regina novam, cui condere Jupiter urbem*
Juſtitiâque dedit gentes frænare ſuperbas
Troes ſe miſeri ventis maria omnia vecti,
Oramus, Prohibe infandos à navibus ignes.

Virgil.

O Queen! Indulg'd by Favour of the Gods,
To found an Empire in theſe new Abodes,
To build a Town, with Statutes to reſtrain
The wild Inhabitants beneath thy Reign;
We wretched *Trojans*, toſs'd on ev'ry Shore,
From Sea, to Sea thy Clemency implore,
Forbid the Fires our Shipping to deface.

Dryden.

‘ of what they had ſeen; the Reverence of the
‘ Aged, the Prudence of the young Men, the
‘ Diſcretion of the Matrons, and the Beauty
‘ of the young Ladies; A certain Gentleman
‘ added, he had ſeen one, from the reſt, ſo in-
‘ comparably fair, ſo pleaſant, and ſo agreea-
‘ bly talkative, with ſo many ſuperiour Vir-
‘ tues, ſhe could be no leſs than the Queen of
‘ that Noble Family. In ſhort, her Beauty
‘ and Goodneſs are beyond my Flights of Fancy
‘ to deſcribe. No wonder they call'd her *Queen*,
‘ who was to be their Queen, and after her Bro-
‘ ther, was deſtin'd by Providence to be Heireſs
‘ of all *England*. The King hearing they were
‘ *Engliſh* *, came to them in Perſon, enquir'd

* — = — *Coram quem quæritis adſum*
Troius Æneas. Libycis ereptus ab undis:
O ſola infandos Trojæ miſerata labores.
Quæ nos reliquias Danaum terræque mariſque
Omnibus exhauſtos, jam Caſibus omnium egenos,
Urbe domoj ſocias. Virgil.

He, whom ye ſeek, am I, by Tempeſts toſt,
And ſav'd from Shipwreck on the *Libyan* Coaſt,
Preſenting, gracious Queen, before your Throne,
A Prince, that owes his Life to you alone.
Fair Majeſty, the Refuge and Diſtreſs
Of thoſe, whom Fate purſues, and Wars oppreſs.
You, who your pious Offices employ,
Save us, the Reliques of abandon'd *Troy*.
Receive the Shipwreck'd on your friendly Shore;
With hoſpitable Rites relieve the Poor.
Aſſociate in your Town a wandring Train,
And Strangers in your Palace entertain.

from

'whence they came, and whither they were 'going: For he could ſpeak *Engliſh*, and '*Latin* very well, as his own Native Lan-'guage, he having been fifteen Years in *Eng-*'*land* after his Father's Death, and had heard 'ſomething of this Family there. See *Fordun's Scoti-Chronicon, lib.* 5. *c.* 15.

In ſhort, *Malcolm* fell in love with *Margaret*, *Edgar's* Siſter, and he married her; from whence Truth and Juſtice took root again in *England*. *Edgar* ſtay'd in *Scotland*, and liv'd to ſee the Chief of thoſe Clergy, who oppos'd his being King, come to take Refuge there, and to commence ſtrict Nonjurors. *William* the *Conqueror* finiſh'd the Extirpation *Canute* began: So juſt and ſure are the Judgments of God in the End, however Men deſpiſe That Power unſeen, which governs the World.

Moreover, I obſerve, as to *Edgar's* very extreme Weakneſs, and Incapacity to govern, in the next Chapter, *Fordun* tells us, 'He 'brought great Riches with him to *Scotland*, 'having acquir'd accumulated Wealth in the 'Eaſt, and at home, having brought Riches, 'as Heir to *Edward* the *Confeſſor*'; which confirms *Edward's* good Intentions towards him, that he would truſt him with his Eſtate: Tho' our Author, from *William* of *Malmesbury*, would prove him a Fool, for ſelling an Annuity for a Horſe. See *p.* 30. If I had been an injur'd Heir, I would have ſold five times as much

for an Horſe; and would have mounted that Horſe, and made my juſt Fortunes, or my Grave with him.

We find, the ſlight Expreſſions in our Hiſtorians concerning *Edgar Atheling* are only the embalm'd Spite of thoſe violent Tongues, *Linguæ omni gladio præacutæ*, mention'd by *Fordun*, on whom the Judgment of God fell.

Our Evidence for this noble Piece of Hiſtory is more valuable than ten, temporizing Engliſh Hiſtorians: For *Fordun* takes it from *Turgotus*, of whom * *Simeon Dunelmenſis* gives this Account, 'That he was an Engliſhman of very good Extraction; that he was kept by the 'Normans in the Caſtle of *Lincoln* as an Hoſtage for the whole Diſtrict of *Lyndſey*; he 'made his Eſcape into *Norway*, and was afterwards, by the Intereſt of *Alexander* King 'of *Scotland*, Son to this very *Margaret*, made 'a Biſhop in *Scotland*'. So that he was a cotemporary Evidence during the whole Life of *Eadgar Atheling*. He was a Perſon of great Note in the time of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, and conſequently no Stranger to the Tranſactions of that Court. And, conſidering his Reputation is as fair as any Man's of that Age, for all the Virtues that adorn the Prieſtly Character, he is an admirable Evidence, that *Ed-*

* *Simeon Dunelmenſis*, 1073. *Turgotus* dy'd in the Year 1115.

ward

ward the *Confeſſor* recommended *Edgar* as a King upon his Death-bed; and I am afraid, was little more a Knave than *Edgar Atheling* was a Fool *.

I leave the World to judge, if my Evidences in behalf of *Edgar Atheling* are not much more noble, than the paultry Hiſtorian-Mongrels, half *Normans* and half *Engliſh*, who wrote againſt him.

We find here, the Layty were for *Edgar Atheling*, and the Biſhops were againſt him. The reaſon why thoſe great Examples of Piety, thoſe burning Lights were ſnuff'd by † *Harold* and *William the Conqueror*, is, the Oil that fed thoſe Lamps, was groſs ſtinking Oil, that afforded neither proper Light nor Smell to the Church; and therefore they were juſtly extinguiſh'd.

‡ The Author here quotes *Ordericus Vitalis*, (who who was juſt born, when *Turgotus* flouriſh'd,) in as fair a manner as the preceding one. Concerning the Convention with *Canute*: he ſays, 'Edgar *Atheling* would not reſiſt 'being diſtruſtful, and ſubmitted to *William*

* See *Selden's* Pref. *ad Script. Angl.*
Buchanan ſays, *Edward the Confeſſor* offer'd *Eadgar* the Crown, and he refuſed to take it before his Uncle's Death. See *B.* 7. 81. *R. Milcolumb. fol.* 75.

† *An.* 1075. *Vide Du Cheſne, Præf. ad Norm. Script.*

‡ See *Hereditary Right*, p. 34.

'the

'*the Conqueror*': he leaves out the middle Part of the Quotation, 'That *Edgar Atheling* 'was conſtituted King by the *Engliſh*'; becauſe it would deſtroy all he had ſaid before, to make *Edward the Confeſſor* reject him as a Changeling. The Quotation is thus: * '*Edgar A-* '*theling* being conſtituted King by the *Eng-* '*liſh*, diſtruſtful of Reſiſtance, humbly ſub- 'mitted himſelf and Kingdom to *William*: 'But, as he was a meek, honeſt Lad, Coſin- 'German to *Edward the Great*, being his Ne- 'phew's Son, he was amicably embraced, and 'all his Life honour'd as a Son.'

Ordericus Vitalis was curtail'd by this Author; becauſe he ſpoke well of *Edgar*, and call'd him *King*. As to the latter Part of this Relation, it is certainly wrong; becauſe *Edgar* was oblig'd to go to *Scotland*, as all Hiſtorians agree.

* 'Edgarus Athelinus, qui Rex fuerat conſtitutus 'ab Anglis, reſtitere diffidens, humiliter Guilielmo 'ſe regnumque contulit; ille verò, quia idem puer 'mitis & ſincerus erat, & Conſobrinus Edwardi ma- 'gni, filius ſcilicet Nepotis ejus erat, amicabiliter 'eum amplexatus eſt, & omni vita ſua honorabiliter 'veneratus eſt. *Orderic. Vital.* p. 503.

A little after, he gives a little more, endeavouring to impoſe upon the Reader One Quotation for Two different ones; and there, how 'tis chang'd and alter'd, the Reader may ſee before him.

I ſhall corroborate what I have ſaid concerning *Edgar*'s being look'd upon as King, from a very extraordinary Paſſage in the * *Saxon* Chrocle, 1066 : ' *Edward* the *Confeſſor* had given by ' the Interceſſion of *Leofrank*, to the Mona- ' ſtery of *Peterborough*, the Abbies of *Byrtune* ' *Burton* upon *Trent*) *Coventry*, *Croyland* and ' *Thorney*. : Upon this Invaſion of the Con- ' queror, I ſuppoſe, King *Edward* not having ' confirm'd the Charter of Donation, the ' Monks choſe one *Brand* for their Abbot, ' and ſent him to *Edgar Atheling*, ſuppoſing ' he would be King, to confirm the Donati- ' on ; which he willingly did. When *William* ' heard this, he was very angry, and ſaid, ' the Abbot had neglected him. But, upon ' Submiſſion, a Peace was made, and they ' paid Forty Marks of Gold, by way of Satiſ- ' faction †.

We find here, whom the People look'd upon as their King ; and, I ſuppoſe, they thought either that *William the Conqueror* came to dethrone *Harold*, and ſet up *Edgar* ; or, that *Edgar* would be able to ſtand his ground. That he deſign'd it, is plain, by his performing this Regal Act.

* *Saxon Chron.* p. 173.

† *Dugdale*, for want of this *Saxon Chronicle* (for *Wheelock*'s does not extend ſo far) has nothing of this in his *Monaſticon*, that I can find.

From

From what has been ſaid, I may ſafely conclude, *Edgar* was not ſuch a Fool, as immediately to reſign to *William*; nor did the People think him attainted for his Folly, and his whole Family ſet aſide for that Attainder, as our Author would perſuade us.

The *Chronicon* tells us, he went the next Year into *Scotland*, with one *Mærleſwegen*, a *Saxon* Nobleman (I ſuppoſe, in thoſe times a Nonjuror) with many others. This relates to his Reception, before mention'd by *Turgotus*.

* In the Year 1074, ſays the *Chronicon*, He went into *Normandy* from *Scotland*, to make his Submiſſion to *William the Conqueror*.

In the Year 1085, ſays the *Chronicon*, *Eadgar* left the Part of *William*, becauſe he was neglected: But, ſays the † *Chronicon*, the omnipotent God gave him Honour to Poſterity. A tender Expreſſion of Loyalty and Affection this, for the poor Prince.

* He invaded *England* the next Year, and was receiv'd into *York*, tho' drove out again by the Conqueror. Concerning his Valour and Activity there, ſee *Hollinſhed ad an.* 1068.

‖ *Chron. p.* 182. 10.

† *Chron. p* 187. 23.

‡ In

‡ In the Year 1091, he was depriv'd of the Lands given him by *Robert*, *William*'s Son, in *Normandy*; and he went into *Scotland* to his Siſter in the ſame Year, and upon a Peace made with *Malcolm*, King of *Scotland*, he ſubmitted again.

† In the Year 1097, this Changeling, as our Author affects to call *Edgar*, marched with an Engliſh Army, by expreſs Leave from *William Rufus*, into *Scotland*, to depoſe the Uſurper *Duncan*, and to ſettle his Nephew *Eadgar* upon the Throne, which he did.

In the Year 1106, we find him acting againſt *Henry* the Firſt, on the Side of *Robert*, Earl of *Normandy*, and taken Priſoner.

Thus far the *Chronicon*.

The Interval from the Reſtoration of *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, perform'd under his Conduct is fill'd up by other Hiſtorians. * *William* of *Malmesbury*, who affects to uſe him ill, ſays, ‘ he went a Voyage to the Holy Land, in the ‘ Year that *Baldwin* was beſieg'd in *Rama*, *i.e.* in ‘ the Year 1101, *viz.* four Years after the ‘ *Scotch* Expedition. From thence he went to

‡ Reign of *William Rufus*. Chron. *p.* 197, 22.

† *Buchanan* calls *Edgar Atheling*, an Excellent Man. *See Scot. l.* 7. *Dun.* 87. *R.*

‖ *Chron.* 214. 19.

* *Will. Malmesb. Lib.* 3.

'viſit the Emperors of *Conſtantinople* and '*Germany*, who affected to retain him with 'em, 'upon account of his Family'. And, ſays *Malmesbury*, 'The Sweetneſs of his native 'Soil enticed him home again'. *Malmesbury* was miſtaken; it was *Dulcedo Hæreditarii juris, the noble incentive to recover his Right*, call'd him home.

I cannot find, that he ever affected to be quiet long. Fool as he was, when he came into *Normandy*, * *Malmesbury* in the ſame Paragraph ſays, '*William* was glad to ſee him there, that '*England* might be free from that Inciter of 'Wars.

I ſhall conclude this Account of *Edgar Atheling*, That upon *William* the Conqueror's Uſurpation, Numbers of ſtrict Men, who would not, I ſuppoſe, take the Oaths, went to *Conſtantinople*, and were made Guards to the Emperor's Palace. The Account given of them by † *Anna Commena*, is ſo much for the Honour of the Engliſh Nation, I ſhall give it in its full Length.

* *Ut incentore Bellorum Anglia vacaret.*

† *Anna Comena* was Daughter to this Emperor, and her Life of her Father, wrote by her ſelf, has a Reputation equal to any of the *Byzantine* Hiſtorians.

Alexius

Alexius Commenus, in order to depoſe *Nicephorus Botoniates*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, ſent *Cæſar Ducas*, in the Habit of a Monk, to ſpy the City of *Conſtantinople*, and to return an Account how it was defended. He brought back word, that one Part was defended by the † *Barangi*, * that to attempt them with Treachery, was impracticable, for the following Reaſons.

‡ 'Thoſe *Bipenniferi*, or Battle-axe Soldiers 'adhering firmly to the Traditions of their 'Country, think, Faith to the Emperors to be 'their Hereditary Portion and Inheritance; 'and having the Cuſtody of their Bodies, what 'has been hereditarily deliver'd to them 'they inviolably adhere to.

† Μητὲ τοῖς Βαράγγοις ἐμβαλλεῖν, *ib.*
Ne aggredi Barangos, *i. e. Anglos.* *See Nicetas Choniates*, & *Fabroti Gloſſarium, ad Verb.* Ινκλινοὶ & Βαράγγοι.

* Thoſe *Barangi* from *Thule*, or *England*, are Barbarians, arm'd with Axes. See *Anna Commena Alexiados*, lib. 2. 1081.

‡ Οἱ δέγε ἐπὶ τῷ ὤμων τὰ ξίφη κεφαλόνοιες πάτειον παράδοσιν, καὶ οἴονται, παράκαταθήκην τίνα καὶ κλῆρον τῶν εἰς τὸς αὐτοκράτορας πίστιν, καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν φυλακὴν ἄλλος ἐξ ἄλλε διαδεχόμενοι τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστιν ἀκραδάντως, διατηρέσι. ib.

i. e. In other Words, *As they brought the Notion of Hereditary Right with them, they think Fidelity ought to be Hereditary likewiſe; and the Doctrine they brought with them, and learn'd from their Fathers, they adhere to here.*

No Emperor could certainly be more happy than with ſuch Guards.

Thus I have reduc'd my Argument within a ſhort Compaſs. The Reader may have a clear and diſtinct View of the Whole. *Canute* is prov'd by the unanimous Conſent of all our Hiſtorians, an Uſurper; and *Edward* the Confeſſor's aſſuming the Government, under pretence of Neceſſity, is the only Foundation of any Title, except that of Conqueſt, that can be given to *William*.

I will not be ſo harſh to *Edward*, as not to allow, that for the publick Utility he might exerciſe a temporary Government, till it was practicable to bring the Royal Family back: Yet this unhappy Circumſtance could not Attaint them. Moreover, as *Edward* enter'd the Kingdom by the Power of the *Daniſh* Faction, it is not poſſible for us at this Diſtance of time, to know whether he could, or durſt venture to reſtore them. The open way was, perhaps, impracticable; and therefore he ſoftly whiſper'd to the Nobles, he wiſh'd *Edgar* was their King. Yet this can only ſuppoſe a State of Violence, to which *Edward* was forc'd to ſubmit: Yet Violence can found no Right. Violence cannot attaint, or remove the Pretenſions of the Right Heir.

As to

As to *Edward*'s Donation of the Kingdom, it could be no free Act; and if free, it could not be valid.

As to the Attainting of the whole Family, becauſe *Edgar* was a Fool, I have drawn out the Lineaments of his Life, and have brought him ſeveral times into the Field, beating the *Scotch* Rebels, marching to *York*, and putting *William* to a ſtand. I have ſhew'd, that he was never quiet, till old Age and grey Hairs laid the Activity of his Genius: In ſhort, that he was a gallant, brave, good Prince, reſpected by the Emperors of both the Eaſt and Weſt abroad; That he carried his Arms to the Holy Land; That he was dear to *Robert*, Earl of *Normandy*, *William* the Conqueror's Son; and was univerſally belov'd, except by the ſpiteful *Anglo-Normanical* Hiſtorians: That his Memory, and the Memory of all Engliſh Princes ſuffering in that manner ought to be dear to us.

I could here proceed to enlarge upon the pretended Donations of *Edward* to *William*, and to *Harold*. The latter I have already confuted; and as to the Firſt, till we can find a better Title for *Edward*, it is not worth ſpending more time to inſiſt upon: And here I ſhall conclude my Firſt Part, concerning the univerſally receiv'd Notion of Hereditary Right and the perfect Hiſtory thereof, from *Cerdic*, the firſt *Weſt Saxon* King, to *Edgar Atheling*.

I am glad I have been ſo far fortunate, in doing Juſtice to that Family.

Thus I end my Firſt Part. My next ſhall treat of the Succeſſion of the ſame Line, to the STUARTS; and I hope, the Reader will make good uſe of what he has before him; till I am ready with the Second, I take leave.

The

The Recapitulation

THUS I have brought the Firſt Part of my Diſcourſe to a Period. It remains, that I ſhould acquaint the Reader, what Application he may make, and what Benefit he may receive therefrom: Otherwiſe, perhaps, a dry Genealogy of *Saxon* Kings, ſo long ago buried, may choak him.

Firſt, My Scope is, to ſhew, That Engliſh Hereditary Right has the Plea of immemorial Cuſtom on its ſide.

Cuſtom, when it can be prov'd to have any Right at all, is a very ſtrong Law. And though Wickedneſs, Violence, and Oppreſſion have all the Practice of Cuſtom on their ſide; yet all that Eſtabliſhment can never give them the Sanction of Laws: Becauſe there can be no Preſcription againſt the eternal Laws of God. But Cuſtom founded upon Right, can have no Objection of that nature; and therefore it may be a firm and obligatory Law.

Cuſtom, I grant, is no more than the Will of our Anceſtors, manifeſted by the Monuments ſet up of Practice, acquieſc'd in by that Set of Men, who have a Power to beſtow, or honeſt and clear Hearts, intent to recognize thoſe Rights.

Therefore, as the World is divided into two ſorts of Men, the Wicked and the Good, I form no Notion of Right from the Practice of Wicked Men: But I take my Rule of Juſtice from the Good; and tho' I am forced to look out for them in ſome Ages with a Candle and Lantern, like *Diogenes*, at Noon-day, I can find Teſtimonies enough to light up for Juſtice in the moſt degenerate Age.

How far the Will of our Anceſtors can oblige, are other Words for this Queſtion, *What is the Obligation of Cuſtom?*

All our Engliſh Property is founded upon Cuſtom: No Engliſhman has a Foot of *Aboriginal* Land in *England*; all is deriv'd from the Cuſtoms of Tenures, or from the Will of ſome Lord from the time of *William* the Conqueror, at leaſt. Therefore Cuſtom in private Property binds and runs thro' unnumber'd Generations, and was the Day of Judgment delay'd by the Decree of God, 40000 Years, our Lands, without ſuch another Conqueſt, and the Intervention of Acts of Parliament, would carry all the Marks of that Conqueror with them to that Day, and be diſtinguiſh'd by the ſame Tenures

they

they are at this time; none but Parliamentary Conveyances can ſink or obliterate the mighty Powers of that *Cuſtom*, which is no more than the Will of our Anceſtors.

The Right to a Crown may be carry'd up higher ſtill. As to Lands, we are oblig'd to acquieſce in the Cuſtoms impos'd upon us by that cruel Conqueror; becauſe all our Claims there to from more ancient Cuſtoms are loſt. But as to the Crown, this Hiſtorical Eſſay carries up the Cuſtom higher than *William* the Conqueror, and independent of him, to the Will of *Cerdic*, who flouriſh'd five hundred and ſeventy one Years before him.

My Scope therefore is to prove by this Eſſay, That the Right to the Crown of *England* was a Progreſſive Property, as to the general Courſe thereof. How far it may be turn'd aſide by the ſupreme Power, is not the Subject of my Enquiry here. Bodies of Men, who can hang, draw and quarter, have determin'd that already to my hands.

This Progreſſion is, for the moſt part, an Hereditary Progreſſion, as Eſtates are, unalienated in their natural Courſe.

The Author of *Hereditary Right* ſays, *Kings by their Teſtaments can turn aſide this Progreſſion:* If ſo, *à fortiore*, Kings, Lords and Commons can certainly do it in a more indiſputed manner. But as to the Teſtamentary Power, it is a metaphyſical Power, in a great meaſure, to the

Times in which I terminate the First Part of this Hiſtorical Eſſay; becauſe it was never recurr'd to in Fact, unleſs we trump up *Edmund*'s pretended Donation to *Canute*, *Edward* the Confeſſor's crazy Title, and *Ælfrides*'s Donation to *Æthelſtan*, whom I have ſtrong Reaſons to preſume, was the eldeſt legitimate Son, without that Will.

If we look into my *Saxon* Scheme, the wicked Practice of the World ſtopp'd that regular Progreſſion, in *Ceawlinus*; it ſtopp'd it afterwards from *Ceadwalla*'s Death, by the Uſurpation of *Ina*, *Æthelheard*, &c. to *Egbert*; and ſo on to *William* the Conqueror's Days there were ſome violent Snatches and Twitches: Yet from all theſe we may obſerve, that good Men kept up the Teſtimony of this Hereditary Progreſſion, preſuming upon Cuſtom, and the Will of their Anceſtors, to have this Right take place.

I have begun with *Cerdic*, the firſt King of the *Weſt Saxons*; and have concluded this Firſt Part with *Edgar Atheling*, whom I am neither aſham'd nor afraid to place in my *Saxon* Scheme as King. So that I may be ſaid to be the firſt, who has reſtor'd him to his juſt Rights.

My

My Scope is, to prove, that all the rectilineal Kings from *Cerdic* to *Edgar*, claim'd the Crown by Deſcent from him, without any Dependence upon *Wittenagamottes* or Election; That this Kingdom was not in thoſe Times Elective, after the manner of the Empire of *Germany*; but our Kings, in Fact, enter'd upon Poſſeſſion by virtue of their Right in Blood.

Rapin, indeed, whoſe Aſſurance was much ſuperiour to his Fidelity, tells us, the *Saxons* had no Kings before they came into *England*; 'that they were like the States of *Holland*, conſiſting of Twelve Provinces, govern'd by an Aſſembly-General, wherein the ſupreme Power was lodg'd, who made and conſtituted Generals at their pleaſure'. See his *Diſſertation upon the Government of the* Anglo-Saxons.

A Man might reaſonably have expected from ſo great and particular a Diſcovery, ſome Author, ſome Teſtimony, bearing date at leaſt, an Hour before *Rapin* was born: But this Gentleman had nothing leſs in his Thoughts, than to give us Proofs, his Antiquity is all Romance, and his Hiſtory Lies. This Commonwealth he tranſports from *Germany* in the ſame Ships with *Hengiſt* and *Cerdic*. The *Wittenagamotes* were put into the Ships Hold, ſpewing their Hearts out, till they got upon the Engliſh Shore, and were carefully preſerv'd afterwards, to breed abſolute and uncontroulable Parliaments from.

Lo, this is the Republican Title to all the depoſing Doctrines of the Age. Yet,

After all, the Word *Wittenagamotte* was never heard of in *Old Saxony*. The Diviſion of the *Saxons* was into Three Parts, the *Old Saxons*, the *Engliſh*, and the *Jutes*; and more of that People we know not, as to their Provinces and Diſtricts.

Moreover, the *Saxons*, if we conſult *Wolfangus Lazius*, that excellent *German* Antiquarian, mention'd with ſo much Honour by *Fabricius Chemnicenſis*, the *Marcomanni*, who had Kings long before the Name of *Goths* was heard of, invaded that Part of *Saxony*, from whom we had our ſecond-hand Viſit; and they peopled the Country with their own Nation, and furniſh'd them with Kings deſcended from *Marobodius*, mention'd by *Tacitus*; of whom *Creoda*, King of *Mercia*, was one, who form'd a great Monarchy in *England*. It is therefore a moſt ſcandalous Impoſition upon the World, crudely to affirm, that the *Saxons* were Commonwealths-men.

Beſides, if we take a View from the *Saxon Chronicle*, of all the Heptarchical *Saxon* Kings, we ſhall find, the Chief deriv'd their Original from *Woden*, who was a mighty Prince, or his Name would be to very little purpoſe ſo often recorded by *Bede*, and by this excellent Chronicle.

Hengiſt

Hengiſt, the Founder of the *Kentiſh* Monarchy, deſcended from *Whitgilſus*, &c. up to *Woden*. See the Chronicle, *An.* 455.

Cerdic, the Founder of the *Weſt-Saxon* Monarchy came from *Eleſa*, &c. up to *Woden*. See Chron. *An.* 495.

Ida founded the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians*, who came from *Eoppa*, and up to *Woden*. See Chron. 547.

Ælla took the *Northumbrian* Kingdom after *Ida*. He was the Son of *Yffus*, up to *Woden*. See Chron. *an.* 560.

Creoda, King of *Mercia*, was the Son of *Wybba* up to *Woden*. See Chron. *An.* 626.

Moſt of our Hiſtorians think, that this *Woden* was the ſame, who by the *Saxons* was worſhipped as a God. However, I diſagree from 'em in that Particular: Yet they all agree, he was a mighty Prince. *Bede* ſays, he was the Father of the Royal *Saxon* Lineage in *England*. *Ethelredus Abbas* calls him the King of the Barbarians. *Fabricius Chemnicenſis* calls him *Bodo* (he deſcended from *Maroboduus*, as I take it) and ſays, he was the moſt ancient King of the *Saxons*. See *Fab. lib.* 1. p. 11.

Ethelredus Abbas, who addreſſes himſelf to *Henry* II, ſays, the Great Grandfather of *Cerdic*, *Gewis* (who deſcended likewiſe from *Woden*,) *was the Head of his People, who were afterwards called* Geviſſians; which was the common Appellation of the *Weſt Saxons*, after their Settlement in *England*.

I conclude, that the *German* Authors, as *Fabricius*, *Verſtegan*, and many more, who ſpeak of *Saxony* ſo particularly, and divide it into Twelve Commonwealths, cannot, without the greateſt Abſurdity, aſcribe it to the early Ages before the *Saxons* came over; but to the Times afterwards, to *Charles the Great*: For all the Family came into *Britain*, and divided it among themſelves: Nay, the *Engliſh* Diviſion, as the *Saxon* Chronicle informs us, *An.* 449, was left entirely empty. Therefore, as thoſe Countries were fill'd up afterwards, left without Government, and without Laws, they might ſettle into wild Commonwealths, and into the Forms *Fabricius* ſpeaks of. This has no relation to their Monarchical Form, when they came into *England*.

Thus therefore I have cut the Whigs off from a great deal of trouble, in inveſtigating the *Goths* Forms of Government before the *Saxon* Conqueſt; becauſe thoſe *Saxons* were really true Monarchical *Hungarians*, and were neither *Goths*, nor like *Goths*.

They muſt for the future contract their Scheme; they muſt not go up ſo high as *Tacitus*, nor come down ſo low as after the *Saxon* Invaſion; at which time all the Royal Family ran over to *England*, and did not think their native Country worth their Thoughts or Care.

This

This accounts for the numerous Settlement of *Woden*'s Poſterity in the *Saxon* Heptarchy; and we hear no more of that Poſterity in *Saxony* afterwards: In whoſe Places firſt came wild Beaſts, and then Men. It was like *Samaria*; the Men were not numerous enough to maſter the Lions and the Bears.

Surely, when we find ſo many great *Saxon* Kings deſcend from *Woden*, we cannot imagine this hapned by mere Chance, That Commonwealths ſhould all conſpire to ſend over the direct Deſcendants of *Woden*; and that this *Woden* ſhould be only ſome little Servant of theirs, is highly improbable: And I dare ſay, no learned Man will believe it.

Here are all the ſigns of a Monarchy, and of a compleat Monarchy, over all the Three Diviſions of the *Saxons*: And I think, it is beyond diſpute, that the Founders of the *Mercian*, *Northumbrian*, *Weſt Saxon* and *Kentiſh* Monarchies were far from Commonwealthsmen, being all of one Stock and Lineage; as *Saxon* Chronicle ſays, All our Royal Kindred comes from *Woden*. See *P.* 13. *l.* 12.

As for the Conjectures about *Wittenagamotes*, That the *Saxon* Kings might have Courts to adviſe with, concerning Laws, I may grant; but their Predeceſſorſhip to our Parliaments, I muſt diſpute: And I ſhall endeavour to prove, that they were, and are intirely independent of each other. But as to the general *Wittenagamote*

mote, during the *Saxon* Heptarchy, it is as arrant a Chimera, as the Story of Fairies. 'Tis pretended, this general *Wittenagamote* met to make *Ina* King; which, (as I obſerv'd before) was to ſet aſide *Oſwald Clito*, or his Father, the next in Blood. 'Tis very ſtrange, the *Saxon* Chronicle ſhould take no notice of this celebrated Meeting; tho' if true, 'tis far from being an Argument for Subjects to depoſe or ſet aſide their Kings. They are as diſtinct as a Foreign Invaſion is from an in-born Rebellion.

But our *Rapin*, in his Firſt Volume, concerning the Kings of *Weſſex*, tells this Story, and purſues it afterwards in his Second, concerning the Government of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and quotes *Aſſer Menevenſis*, who has not a Word about the matter. In all the Hiſtorians in my hands, I can find nothing more of *Ina*, than what *Malmesbury* has ſaid before: And if it was true, that the Kings met, and plac'd *Ina* upon the Throne, it was a Foreign Tranſaction; tho' indeed, the whole Story is a Fiction. As for the Charter of *Ingulphus*, from *Whitglapth*, King of *Mercia*, *which is ſaid to be in the Preſence of* Egbert, *King of the* Weſt Saxons, *of* Ethelwulph, *his Son, and of the Biſhops and Great Lords of* England *aſſembled at* London *See* Rapin, Vol. 2 p. 162. I obſerve, *Ingulphus Croylandenſis* tells us, it was in the Year 833 the 33d of *Egbert*'s Reign, which was ſix Years, according to the Chronicle, after he had

ſubdu'd

ſubdu'd all *England.* This *Witglaph*, King of *Mercia*, by the Conqueſt of that Kingdom, was made a Vaſſal to *Egbert:* Nor was there one Corner of *England* unſubdu'd by *Egbert*, long before the ſigning of this Charter. And therefore this does not prove, that the Heptarchy had a General Aſſembly to govern the Whole.

Nor is the Word *Wittenagamote* ſo much as us'd. The Preamble of the Charter, as we have it from *Ingulphus*, runs, 'That the Bi-'ſhops, Nobles, and chief Men of *England* met 'at *London* to adviſe how to ſuppreſs the *Danes.* So that it was more like a Council of War than a *Wittenagamote:* For Biſhops in thoſe Days, and ſince, have been too often concern'd in fiery Councils of that nature.

Having thus taken off the Edge of *Rapin's* Reflections upon the Government of the Engliſh *Saxons*, I ſhall now carry the Reader on to the Recapitulation of the preceding Work.

Cedwalla, the Deſcendant of the Great *Ceawlinus*, who (the *Saxon* Chronicle ſays, conquer'd all *England*) *began to contend for the Kingdom*, ſays the Chronicle, *An.* 685. *Rapin* obſcures this Glorious Reſtoration, as tho' he ow'd a Spleen to every thing like it.

Firſt, ſays he (ſee Vol. 1. p. 207.) Cedwalla, *a Prince of the Blood-Royal of* Weſſex, *had ſo gain'd the Affections of the People, that the King being jealous of him, order'd him to depart the Kingdom.*

He does not let us into the Secret, that *Cedwalla* was the next in Blood from *Ceawlinus*; which I have already prov'd he was.

Secondly, He makes his Working upon the Affections of the People, to ſteal their Hearts from *Centwinus*, their eſtabliſh'd King, to have been the Cauſe of his Baniſhment.

Whereas *Malmesbury* gives this Relation a more noble Turn. He ſays, *Efficacibus ſtudiis bilem principum patriæ ſuæ, irritaſſet*; *By his efficacious Applications he rais'd the Choler of the Princes of his Country.* Choler proceeds from a wicked Principle. They were cholerick, becauſe he look'd after his juſt Title, as will appear afterwards.

Thirdly, ſays *Rapin*, 'Upon his being ba-'niſh'd, a great many young People follow'd 'him, with whom he raiſed an Army.

Says *William* of *Malmesbury*, 'He took all 'the military Force with him; all the *Pubes*, i e. *Young Men, who could bear Arms*; who, out of Commiſeration of his hard Fate, or Love to his Virtues, follow'd him.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, ſays *Rapin*, 'Whilſt this was doing, *Centwin* happening to die, *Cedwalla* was 'placed on the Throne.

William of *Malmesbury* tells us, That ſuddenly returning from his Southern Expedition, *maturo inſperatoque reditu*, By his timely and unexpected Return, *æmulos potentiæ adortus regno abegit*, He fell upon the Rivals of his Power, and drove them out of the Kingdom.

To this we may add from the *Saxon* Chronicle, *That in this Year he began to contend for the Kingdom.*

There is no room to ſuppoſe, that he came in otherwiſe than by his Hereditary Title.

If we we carry on further our View of the *Saxon* Hiſtory, *Egbert* came in afterwards upon the ſame Title. He was a Favourite of *Malmeſbury*'s, upon the account of his Pretenſions to the Throne. He was cheriſh'd in Exile abroad, and more joyfully receiv'd upon his Return.

I obſerve, the Weſt Saxon Monarchy was always upon the Decay, under the uſurping Lines: They were a Prey to their Enemies, a Mourning to their Friends, and a Deriſion to all about them. When the Right Line was reſtor'd, they prov'd a conquering and a glorious People, for the moſt part.

If we carry on our View farther, to the *Daniſh* Conqueſt, we have all the Evidence the nature of our Diſpute is capable of, that the Crown of *England* was Hereditary. The Partition-Treaty it ſelf was done without any Confirmation of Parliaments, or *Wittenagamotes*; and the Queſtions ask'd by *Canute*, when he call'd all the Lords and Biſhops together, ſhew, that neither he, nor they had other Notions of the Devolution of the Crown of *England* than *Ironſide*'s Power, to divide, or give away the Whole. *Canute* never ask'd that Convention to be made King: He took it by virtue of a pretended Donation from *Edmund*.

When we come to *Edgar Atheling*, the Election of *Harold* was deſpis'd by all good Men. *Turgottus*, a Nobleman in *Edward*'s Court, look'd upon *Edgar* as King, and call'd the Kingdom his Patrimony. If ſo, he could not be elected; becauſe Patrimony is a Poſſeſſion, deſcending from Father to Son, or to the neareſt Heir. From *Edgar*'s Blood, *i. e.* from his Siſter *Margaret*, proceeded the Patrimonial Claim of King *James* the Firſt; whoſe Title, like a mighty Water, took all the leſſer Streams into its Boſom.

To form therefore a true Notion of the Engliſh Conſtitution, all our Laws, and the Internal Parts of that Conſtitution are caſt in the Model of the *Norman* Conqueſt. The Succeſſion, as extraneous thereto, is deriv'd

from

from the Devolution of the Kings of *Scotland*, to *Margaret*'s Iſſue. And their Pretenſions were from the Hereditary Line of the *Weſt Saxons*, up to *Cerdic*; conſequently King *James* the Firſt was the true Saxon Heir to the Kingdom of *England*. Therefore *Henry* the Second ſucceeded as true Heir to a perverted Conſtitution; and tho' a *Saxon*, he govern'd it by the *Norman* Plan.

William the Conqueror, and his Son, us'd the Kingdom abſolutely as their Property. They would not even ſubmit to the Saxon Diſpoſition, nor Cuſtom of devolving of the Crown; therefore *Robert*, as well as *Edgar*, was ſet aſide.

The Scope of this Eſſay is to ſhew, that our Succeſſion is not determin'd by that Conqueſt; becauſe it was a ſtanding, apparent, undeſtroy'd Claim, before, and after the ſame. The Tenures of our Lands might eaſily be changed, by rooting out the Proprietors, removing all the Marks, from the true Owners: But this would not take with the Succeſſion; becauſe *Edgar* the Monument thereof was alive; and the immemorial Cuſtom was as notorious as the Shining of the Sun at Noon-day.

They, who would therefore impoſe States independent of the Kings, upon our Kingdom, muſt give them an hearty Doſe of Opium to the Reign of King *Charles* I. Then indeed Pieces of Parliaments began to crow: And to

this

this Day we are told, theſe Parts have not only the Elective Power in their hands, but a Coercive Power over the King himſelf; tho' I deſire to know, by what Law the People are reſtrain'd to a certain Number of Repreſentatives? Whether they can alter the Number, or ſhorten, or anticipate the Seſſions of their own Repreſentatives?

An Anſwer to this will confound all the Republicaniſm in *England*, and puzzle ſome Great Men.

I conclude, that the Reader may expect from me no Hypotheſes not ſupported by Facts: Let him go to *Noah*'s Ark for Original Contracts; I can ſhew him binding ones of a more modern Date.

I ſhall take all their Cant-Words out of their Mouths, *viz.* Laws, Liberties, *&c.* and by the Laws I will be judg'd, and by the Engliſh Conſtitution I will ſtand or fall. And as for Liberty, I will be as zealous for it as an old *Roman*. Still I have known very zealous Advocates for Liberty betray their Country with a Kiſs. Such Men are my Averſion.

I define Liberty, to be a State of Defence againſt Oppreſſion: I confine it within the Circle of our known Laws. If we go beyond them, to Original Contracts, and to State of Nature Schemes, we may argue for *Utopia*, we don't talk like *Engliſhmen*.

If King *Charles* the Firſt had quietly ſeiz'd the impeach'd Demagogues of the Houſe of Commons, and try'd them at Common Law for High Treaſon, that Touchſtone would have ſhrunk the States into more narrow Bounds; the Jury would have had no Charges from the Judges, in reſpect to the Original Contract; nor would the Court have allow'd a time for the Subjects to take up their Rights of Nature, and to rebel: Becauſe nothing in our Common Law could then mince the Treaſon of inviting or ſupporting the *Scots* or *French* to invade this Kingdom.

Therefore in the purſuit of this Controverſy I will not paſs one jot beyond our real *Engliſh* Conſtitution, nor beyond the Plan I have laid down. At the time of the Conqueſt we were under the Power, tho' not the Right, of Slavery. Liberty has grown up ſince; it was a young and tender Plant before the *Stuarts* came; and under them, it afforded to *England* all the Felicities of *Auguſtus*'s Reign.

It is to me ſurpriſing, that Republicans, who pretend ſo much to Liberty, will not ſhew it by one Tranſaction, when they are in power. I have watch'd narrowly the Steps of that ſort of Men; their *Feet are as ſwift to ſhed blood*, as the moſt Wicked in *David*'s Days were. They are ſo far from being nice in regard to the Engliſh Conſtitution, they never let it ſtand in their way, when they have any Views to promote:

mote: Is it a little thing to raiſe a Rebellion againſt Prerogative, and to defeat a whole Family of their Rights, as they did in the Reign of *Charles* the Firſt; becauſe they either lov'd Power, or favour'd another Plan of Government, different from the old eſtabliſh'd one? Can publick Liberty be founded upon Injuſtice? Muſt that angry Deity be appeas'd with human Sacrifices, with tender Infants, and an innocent ſtarving Poſterity? Such would have been the Conſequences of Injuſtice drawn out to many Ages, if K. *Charles* II. had not return'd, like *the Sun of Righteouſneſs, with healing in his Wings.*

I conclude, with one Obſervation more, That no Violence offer'd to the Engliſh Conſtitution either in the Saxon times, or to the Reign of *Henry* VII. ever brought Peace or Happineſs to us. But as there is no room here to enlarge upon Particulars, I ſhall remit the Reader to a more favourable Seaſon. I bid him Farewel.

FINIS.